



Perceptions of Policing:

An Investigation into Modern Community Policing
Responses through the Management,
Administration & Development of the Police
Community Support Officer in Leicester

Executive Summary

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Section 1: Introduction

PCSOs were introduced as a means of enabling the police to better engage with the communities that they serve. Their organisational role and experiences have varied considerably and there has been much debate about what their role should be and how it fits within the overall police organisation.

Using the simple question's; *Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?*, this research explored the perceptions and expectations of PCSOs, police officers, police managers and members of the public about police practices

The thesis focuses on the meaning of modern community based policing by reviewing, researching and visualising community policing processes in relation to the function and role of the PCSO.

Overview

This summary demonstrates the relevance of historical literature to the research, additionally highlighting the influence of complexity to the subsequent research methods.

An explanation of the choice and meaning of the scenario based research methods utilised in the research is followed by a more detailed explanation of the research schemes which were used within the fieldwork and how they ultimately became part of a visual mapping process.

Whilst the author has used one of the mapping exercises to provide a detailed explanation of the mapping process and its outcomes, a more detailed review of the results of this research are discussed within the conclusions.

The summary ends with a reflexive account of the author's journey through the research process.

Section 2: How the historical materials in the thesis contribute to the research analysis.

Understanding historical context in a complex system

The focus of the thesis was about community policing and the role of the PCSO. Fundamental to this question was a need to understand exactly what the constitution of 'community' was, and whether the expectations of community based policing were still definable in the 21st Century. The relatively new role of Police Community Support Officer, the PCSO of the research question, was important in understanding the answer as it had been specifically developed to directly support community needs as a result of the Police Reform Act (2002).

The historical material highlighted how community policing developed to reflect the evolving nature of community. Gould (1990) states that complex systems such as those under investigation within the thesis are, *'the result of a series of highly contingent events that would not happen again if we could rewind the tape'* (Gould, quoted in Rosenberg, 1990, p. 1).

This, according to Ricca (2012 p33) indicates that, *'the current state of a complex system is dependent on all of the events of its history'*, and continues by noting that, *'A complex system cannot be copied or fully understood without completely following the same history'*. These statements acknowledge both the epistemological and procedural elements of the system under investigation and provide a suitable foundation for the historical component of the literature review.

Maturana and Varela (1992) explain that complex systems are self-directed and are thus autopoietic, in contrast to more mechanical systems which are easily managed by external forces. This explanation echoes the transformation of the original concepts of policing which evolved as a response to the fragmentation, diversity and adaptation of community, which in turn created novel opportunities for offending, provided by technological enhancements and geosocial changes. The tensions between an autopoietic and a highly managed system are at the heart of the research within the thesis.

The thesis describes the historical need for a policing role and the gradual need for society to respond to more complex offending behaviour. The evidence for these changes is to be found in history. The thesis identifies a number of the key historical developments which changed both the nature of

policing and the policed communities of England, supporting Kamps' (1991) contention that complex systems are actively creative which means that they can act as catalysts to new entities.

The following narrative provides a general overview of the key historical drivers which have been identified within the literature review as relevant to understanding the modern concept of community policing. An appreciation of a number of defining terms and different meanings of community provides context, evidence and explanation about the changes to the nature of community, which is essential to appreciating the dynamic evolution of policing processes.

The community

The introductory section of Chapter 2 argues that to understand what community policing means one must first understand the nature of community. The first sections (Sections 2.1-2.2) highlight the difficulty in characterising the term 'community' and explain that various academic groups looked at the expression in different ways. It goes on to note the similarity between the whole systems approach advocated by complex adaptive systems (CAS) and a number of variable traits which have been identified by diverse academic fields when describing communities (Pycroft 2014).

The thesis continues by reviewing a number of different approaches to the analysis of primitive communities and subsequently provides exemplars of these models. This included in particular the work of Jaynes (1976- cognitive anthropological) and Dunbar (1992- linguistic anthropological). Specific note is made of the contrast between these approaches and other psychological (James 1890) or narrative (Gallagher 2000) models. An understanding of the development of primitive society and its origins as a commune provided the reader /researcher with an appreciation of the subsequent development of a more dynamic community structure with its greater emphasis on control, legal process and the maintenance of justice.

A definition of society was proposed and adopted (in explanation of the development of early society) which was commonly used to reflect a complex adaptive system, a term which is generally used within computer programming. *'Society is a system, composed of many parts, which we call members, and which are intelligent systems or societies themselves. Since the basic building block of societies is the intelligent system, it has all the properties of an intelligent*

system. It may have other properties, since it is composed of many intelligent systems. Its objectives are the common objectives of its members' (Fritz 1984).

This systemic change is influenced by the key themes of politics, economics and morals /culture which Novak (1982) identified as important factors for community transformation and evolution. These are also introduced within the thesis as potential attractants which pull or draw traditional behaviours and responses towards them in order to catalyse the development of new behavioural traits, both within individuals and society itself.

As a consequence, links are reinforced with the notion of Darwin's (1871) primitive horde and the development of the commune. Historically, the early sections of the thesis reflect a period when the commune has become an intentional community.

The development of law and introduction of policing

An explanation and a historical overview of the development of the English legal system and the early form of tything in policing is provided in Section 2.4. This is of importance to the development of community expectations of the maintenance of order.

The Domesday book (1085) is noted by the author as a form of Panopticon as it identified the communities of England for the first time and highlighted the difficulties of communication between the ruling classes and the common members of communities. This was noted to be an issue which continued to be of historical importance.

Section 2.7 explains that the historical period post the Norman Conquest required community members to take responsibility for one another's behaviours which meant that they might be punished if a member of their immediate community committed a crime against society. In order to reflect these changes the thesis notes that there is a further enhancement in the role of constable. This is evidenced by a description of the oaths and duties of these officers. A constable's roles and responsibilities at this time included those appertaining to social audit and whilst these duties indicated the need to respond to a mainly agrarian community they also reflected the formal responses to land law reforms which benefited the wealthy to the detriment of the poor. This is discussed in Section 2.8.

Further evidence, which is provided within Sections 2.8-2.9, indicates that the expectation and ability of a constable to uphold the law within a community was based on his¹ understanding of the individuals living within the community he served. The control and criminalization of the poor, who were the majority living within communities at this time, is consequently highlighted as part of a larger critical debate associated with the rule of law. This is bound to its cautious development by the governing classes who drip fed change to principally support commercial requirements, as well as enforce social inequalities as part of pre industrial society.

The subsequent impact of the industrial revolution and the geographical changes to communities is noted as being transformative to the role of policing. With changes to the content of physical communities there was a loss of knowledge which had formerly been used as an essential tool to support community based policing. As a further consequence of a more transient, crowded society, there was also the necessary termination of the concept of an individual responsibility for the behaviour of other community member's. By reducing this liability there was a detachment from some of the more common expectations of community responsibility and a move towards the greater accountability of the office of constable.

These variations are reflected in Lundman's theory, or '*Three Stages of Police Development*', which is discussed in Section 2.9 (Lundman 1980). These stages are of critical importance to the understanding of the relevance of history as they evidence the influence of society to the development of community policing. Stage one represents a mutual contract with community members to police themselves. This is discussed in the first three sections of Chapter 2. Stage two relates to the system in transition when individuals are assigned to a particular role of police. This is discussed in Sections 2.4-2.9. Stage three, the final stage of Lundman's postulation, removes the requirement of policing from society at large to that of a sole formal policing role. This is reflected in the development of the first '*Bobby*' as a result of work by Sir Robert Peel in 1829.

The lack of opportunity to contribute to the development and role of the police by the very poor is noted as being due to societal inequalities and lack of universal suffrage. The divide between the wealthy, influential members of society, the upper and middle classes and the poor is seen to become physically manifest in greater societal protest at this time, which is further compromised

¹ All early Tythingmen and subsequently Constables and Watchmen were males.

by the disquiet caused by the introduction of constables in uniform. This is seen by many as a militaristic erosion of traditional common-law agreements for the citizen to self-police and coincides with the development of a more dynamic community at a time of great societal upheaval. This is discussed in Sections 2.10-2.14

The thesis considers the tensions within impoverished communities as a result of the introduction of a more formal police role and observes that in order to keep the peace, police constables, like their constable and watch forebears, found that they needed to become more fully integrated into the increasingly culturally diverse communities they served (Ignatieff 2005, p.28). This meant that discretion was an important tool for the police constable. They needed to be seen to be fair and trustworthy but willing to turn a blind eye if it was for the good of the community overall. Unfortunately evidence suggests there were continued communication problems within police ranks and the communities that they served (Fielding 1995). Similar concerns are acknowledged in an explanation of the English and Irish models of policing.

The community policing experiences based on partnership and discretion provided within the English model differed significantly to the more oppressive colonial practices inherent within the Irish model (Section 2.15). The latter model of policing however had been exported globally and was intended as a form of control rather than a harmonious police-community relationship in countries throughout the British Empire. This acrimonious relationship would lay the foundations for further conflict in England within, amongst others, the *Windrush* migrant communities post WWII.

The responsibility for the prosecution of the poor in court for victimless crimes such as drunken behaviour and conversely the requirement to dispense 'Relieving tickets' which provided them with charity via the workhouses, were amongst a number of additional tasks given to Peel's police. This not only reinforced weakened relations with local impoverished communities but also antagonised the lawyers and officers of the courts who felt that the police were not competent to work within a court setting because of their social class, which was still considered to be akin to that of a farm labourer (Emsley 2009, p. 73). In spite of these and other concerns about community policing which were reflected by the politicians and media at the time, there appears to have been a reduction in levels of crime and a greater feeling by communities that community safety was significantly improved as a result of the work of the police (Thesis, p.68). This effect was monitored by the newly created Inspectorate of Policing or Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC).

Whilst few modifications were made to the role and duties of the new police over the next decades this historical period² does represent a time of significant global, political and industrial transformation which culminated in two World Wars and periods of global conflict (Thesis Section 2.16). As a result, the communities of post war England were not the same, for not only had long fought for equalities been granted but the poor working classes were no longer content to do as they were told within English society.

The thesis continues by providing an exploration of more recent community changes (post WWII) and highlights some of the insensitive and sometimes ineffective responses to the new, more diverse, communities of England by the general public and government but more particularly the police. The review of the Willink commission of 1962 into the police was pivotal in that it provided opportunities for government to begin to change the roles and function of policing (Thesis Section 2.17). This was not previously possible because of the power and control of the local authority Watch Committees³. Like other public facing organizations at the time the police were influenced by neo-liberal economics which led, by the 1980s to the forced adoption of the concept of New Public Management (NPM). This focused on professionalization, best value, saving money, and performance and was seen as providing the government with an opportunity not only to cut costs but also more rigorously control and compare police activities over England. In adopting the principles of NPM however the idea of community policing was seen as secondary to more professional investigatory, process driven police duties, as its benefits could not be measured (Thesis Section 2.18).

The focus on performance and the formal monitoring of practice based targets (linked to funding) left senior police managers with little choice but to meet government requirements in any way they could. This resulted in heavy handed policing operations such as *Operation Swamp* in Brixton and in other areas of England in the 1980s which overused powers of stop and search and consequently alienated black and minority ethnic communities. Further changes to front line methods of policing came as a result of the enforced introduction of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act or PACE (1984) which acknowledged police operational errors and attempted to check inappropriate behaviours.

Based on the NPM philosophical foundation of professionalization, efficiency, measurement and audit of performance the 1980s onwards saw

² The early 20th Century

³ Later to become Police Authorities

government policy become more involved in controlling the role and duties of policing. This included, on occasion, the greater politicisation of the role⁴. The concept was further developed in the 1990s as government made a commitment to develop a consumer focussed police service and, like other public facing organisations, subsequently ensure customer satisfaction for services delivered. For the police, this change was connected with the idea of National Occupational Standards or NOS which worked to standardize the approaches of police officers to a variety of police duties and began to further erode the idea of discretion, which had for decades enabled a more dynamic service to resolve some of the more complex human problems caused by modern life (Thesis Sections 2.18-19). Whilst additional legislation and policy was passed which inferred that there was a focus on community police process, there was a contradiction between this and the actual performance requirements of police forces throughout the country. This meant that community policing became very much a 'tick box' affair which was perceived to be secondary to the real job of policing which was, as far as the perceptions of police officers was concerned, to catch villains!

The thesis reveals that this attitude has continued in spite of the introduction of the role of Police Community Support Officer (PCSO). The role of PCSO was created by the Police Reform Act (2002) to principally combat anti-social behaviour (ASB) but additionally provide a more community-focussed cohesive link to communities who were unable or unwilling to cooperate with the police. This, it was felt, would help to sustain community policing initiatives. Chapter 2 concludes by highlighting more positive suggestions for performance management in that it might be used for more ethical police approaches (Thesis Section 2.20).

Final comments

Historical evidence has been key throughout the literature review to enable an appropriate response to the research question;

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?

Not only has history, as a linear process, evidenced the factors which have led to important changes within the policing of local communities over time, but it has also reflected the impact of non-linear systems or events which have confounded societal expectations. Throughout her review of the literature the

⁴ See as an example: Policing the Miners' Strike Wallington (1985).

author realised that everything had importance as events or changes to community or police process; even apparently the most minor (the initial justifications of which might be lost over time) could subsequently have a significant impact. This reinforced further the need to review the inadvertent consequences identified by the historical literature in a more detailed way.

An example of this was the impact of the Vagrancy Act (1824), which, whilst it was initially introduced to control the activities of the demobilised military from the Napoleonic Wars was later used in policing/crime initiatives such as Operation Swamp in the 1980s with negative consequences to police community relations which arguably have never recovered.

Similar examples of the impact of complexity on policing processes are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5⁵ and have been supported by diagrams which the author has developed to enable the visual clarity of the results of unexpected impact. These and the subsequent maps within the research have been based upon instruments used within complexity theory.

The traditional perceptions underpinning community policing which this thesis has researched and subsequently critically reviewed are that policing, when controlled for example, by indicators of performance, is expected to be more predictable and consequently mechanical in nature. The significance of history at a macro level or prior events at a micro level within community policing cannot be underestimated as it can be seen to confound such expectations.

Within the organisational processes involved in the resolution of modern day policing problems the police service and their partner organisations frequently risk the nullification of improvement because of their interpretation of recent or historical events which may be bound to culture or systems and embedded as appropriate behaviour. It is important therefore for the future of existing partnerships and the development of new ones that the impact of history and the relevance of non-linearity is more completely appreciated and accepted by organisations and policy makers.

⁵ Chapter 5 provides an exemplar of the impact of data protection legislation from the Data Protection Act 1984 and how iterations of this Act coupled with police policy and manuals of guidance subsequently resulted in loss of clarity and poor police procedure which ultimately led to loss of life and a national review.

Section 3: A rationale for the choice of scenarios, and an explanation of why the candidate chose scenarios rather than real cases.

The problem.

Within the review of the literature the author found that policing was an area which might be studied and reflected upon by a variety of research approaches. Community policing is a complex task and the historical review highlighted the dangers of failing to recognise the importance and impact of complex systems or complexity within community/police relations.

In order to gain an understanding of both public and police perceptions of community based policing, the research question attempted to identify and explore the expectations and perceptions of community policing of three groups of subjects;

- a) Members of the public.
- b) Police managers of front line police staff.
- c) Front line police and community support officers.

The research question was thus tailored to these categories and reads as follows:

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?

In simple terms this question is associated with the function of policing the community and is directed to the respondent groups more generally as follows⁶:

- How effective are the police in meeting the expectations that the public have of community policing?
- In meeting this requirement, how do police managers actually know if their officers are meeting these expectations?

The principle drivers behind the above questions related to the structures in society that bind communities together to preserve peace and order. The question and subsequently its response considered whether the processes involved in community policing were understood by both the police and their community partners - the public, and whether they are fit for purpose.

⁶ See section 7.1 in the thesis

For the purposes of this research the author had to develop and sustain a research method which would generate data to reflect a multi-layered process: it would need to be flexible and based on the philosophy of epistemological pluralism, embracing transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary processes to accurately reflect the complex nature of the question.

More traditional methods of research would not adequately reflect the complexity of modern policing and community engagement. Traditional approaches of empirical research focussing upon numbers (quantitative) and language (qualitative) methods were initially considered but it was decided that a grounded mixed method approach to the topic would provide the data that would more suitably reflect multidimensional systems.

Why choose scenarios?

Research methods which advocate the more simplistic approach of using a question /answer process based on the use of closed or open questions or rating scales (Converse, 1987; Smith, 1987; Geer, 1988; Schuman et al 1986; Krosnick & Berent, 1993; Klockars & Yamagishi, 1988; Krosnick et al, 1990) would not encourage subject responses of sufficient detail to either answer the research question or enable a suitable comparison of responses. A method which presented the different subject groups with similar opportunities to more completely explore their understanding of community policing processes was needed, and scenario based questions appeared to be the answer to this methodological challenge. Research undertaken by Wells et al (1987) suggests that scenario based research questions have the potential of producing counterfactual thinking thus fitting the requirements of research and providing subjects with opportunities to elaborate and indicate difference where appropriate. They provide opportunities for the mental stimulation of the research respondent in order to generate new ideas and schema. Scenarios suggest a setting or location and agents or actors motivated by goals or objectives who will be involved in certain actions or activities defined by a structure or plot (Carroll 2000). Scenario based questions would be particularly meaningful to the police respondents as they reflected the training methodologies and pedagogic practice used as part of the initial police training process. They also had the advantage of being able to be tailored to fit human experience or understanding, enabling responses to be compared from a number of different perspectives (Alexander and Becker 1978). Scenarios have been successfully used in a number of settings to elicit responses from subjects who

may not have necessarily experienced an action, but may have opinion about what their responses under certain circumstances might be.

The scenarios chosen for this research needed to cover a range of potential situations and offer scope for varying circumstances and reactions from both the public and police personnel. They also needed to be understood by all respondents and not make them feel that there were any right or wrong answers. They needed to be able to be dealt with in a number of different ways by a range of respondents but additionally accommodate the prescriptive requirements of National Occupational Standards on police behaviours and duties.

Hypothetical vs real

Merriam (1988), states that the adoption of real cases as research scenarios provides researchers with an opportunity to focus on particular phenomenon whilst providing opportunities for diverse responses. The use of real cases, according to Merriam, would support the study of complex processes, a factor already identified within the literature review. A real case study might thus be used by the researcher to simplify real life complex concepts and expose participants to real situations. Such experiences could then be applied to practice. For the practitioners involved in this research, the adoption of a real case approach would have enabled them to professionally relate to the methods of problem resolution highlighted by the case whilst emphasising alternative strategies for resolution revealed by hindsight.

However, there are difficulties with using real cases. It can be difficult to find an appropriate case study to suit the understanding of all of the research subjects. Issues of confidentiality and ethics become relevant, particularly if the cases chosen were to be recognised by respondents.

Doolin (1998) states that case study based research may lead to problematic explanations and unintended consequences, particularly if the researcher neglects any specific historical context which might influence results. Scenarios that considered Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) for example, might already be influenced as a result of high profile incidents such as the Fiona Pilkington case. This was a tragic case which had, at the time of the field work, been highlighted by serious case review which criticised members of Leicester Police for their inaction around complaints about ASB prior to a murder suicide. This could inadvertently affect the results of the research if the police respondents perceived a formal real case approach as one which was

out to test (or trick) them into responses which might subsequently be used to their detriment (Yin, 2009; Shanks and Parr, 2003).

There may also be issues with power within real case based research as it provides the researcher with inappropriate levels of privilege in the choice of study, and thus has a tendency to reflect observations and perceptions of the researcher (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005; Blakie, 1993; Doolin, 1998). Real cases were also inappropriate because of the author's prior relationship with a number of the police respondents in her role as a former academic tutor. In this situation the real case study model may be seen to be too much like an academic exercise as opposed to police practice and be associated by the respondents with a test of their academic knowledge. This may have consequently elicited responses perceived by the police personnel to be in keeping with the academic researcher's expectations of their practice.

For the purpose of this research there was a need to stimulate the perceptions of officers and public participants in order to make them think about their own personal experiences and perceptions, and simple hypothetical scenarios were felt to be the best way to achieve this. It was not necessary to utilise the detail of a real case which, whilst it might be understood by one group of respondents, might have been confusing or misunderstood by another.

Jehn and Jonsen (2010) highlight the positive application of hypothetical scenarios or vignettes in mixed method research, particularly where there may be an element of sensitivity about working practice. The use of scenario based planning in relation to multi-criteria decision analysis can facilitate strategic decision making and support performance evaluation of such strategies when considering relevant proposals for the resolution of hypothetical problems (Montibeller et al, 2007).

Rationale for the choice of scenario content

Once the decision had been made to choose a series of hypothetical scenarios which would reflect police practice, it was necessary to choose the offences upon which the scenarios would be based. They needed to be offences which were indicative of crime generally, and have generalizable content which might be repeatable if similar research was to be undertaken in other police districts. A series of mutually understood police/community based points of focus was needed to address the research question. *Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in*

community policing? The offences would need to reflect National Occupational Standards (NOS) and have been reviewed by various Home Office monitors, in particular inspections by HMIC.

Seven scenarios were chosen to ranging from minor incidents, which might be dealt with by front line officers (a PCSO or a police constable) to more serious incidents (which should be dealt with by attested police officers) and incidents which might elicit a partnership approach both within and external to policing. In order to better reflect the core tasks of the PCSO, as outlined within government reform, some scenarios were selected which would be categorised by the term 'anti-social behaviour' (ASB). The focus on ASB was a core task for PCSOs and one for which their role in policing was specifically dedicated by the Police Reform Act. A common minor non-police incident was additionally included which it was anticipated would stimulate debate by all respondents. The scenarios were not intended to be a knowledge test but a method to see how individuals might resolve different common police problems or perceive how those problems might be resolved.

The scenario vignettes were focused on the following common community based policing issues:

- Scenario 1) Attempted Break in /Potential Burglary,
- Scenario 2) Robbery,
- Scenario 3) A police non-action report of an individual becoming 'Locked Out' of their home.
- Scenario 4) Potential Domestic Violence,
- Scenario 5) A Potential/ Actual Common Assault,
- Scenario 6) Neighbour Disputes (linked to anti-social behaviour),
- Scenario 7) Youths Drinking/Congregation in public spaces (linked to anti-social behaviour)

All scenarios related to simple, more common, community-based incidents which could be appreciated by both police and non-police respondents. All of the scenarios could be defined as an incident for the purpose of National Occupational Standard (NOS) 2C1⁷, and were designed to stimulate reflection on content, role, responsibility and the potential for discretion. It was important to see how discretion might still be applied in spite of controls put in place by the government such as NOS.

⁷ Provide an initial response to incidents

Figure 1 presents the scenarios and identifies the responsibilities of each type of officer or organisation as identified by National Occupational Standards (NOS).

*Figure 1: NOS Specified /Expected Response to Common Incidents
(Based on Figure 7.3 Thesis Chapter 7)*

Who can deal	Only Police to Deal	Police Constable and a PCSO if available	Multi Agency Partners with PCSO or a Police Constable	Not a Police Matter
Type of Incident	Actual Robbery	General Anti-Social Behaviour Youths Drinking	General Anti-Social Behaviour Neighbours Noise Environmental hazards	Locked out of house
Scenario 1) Scenario 2) Scenario 3) Scenario 4) Scenario 5) Scenario 6) Scenario 7)	Potential Domestic Assault	Attempted Break in Attempted /Potential Burglary		
	Potential/Actual Assault			

An overview of the actual wording of each scenario/vignette can be found in Figure 7.4 (Thesis p291⁸).

A common set of questions was identified and adapted for each respondent group, as follows:

All Police Groups

- In this situation- Should they call the police?*
- In your capacity as (PCSO, PC, Police Manager) if (you or your staff) were called to this incident what would you do (expect the police to do)?*

Public

- In this situation- Would you contact the police?*
- If you called out the police to this incident what would you expect the police to do?*

The following sections provide the rationale for the choice of each research scenario.

⁸ The respondent specific questions used for Scenario 1 is reflected in sections 8.12 a); 8.18 and 8.19 of the Thesis

Scenario 1) Attempted Break in/ Attempted or Potential Burglary

The historical review of the literature in Chapter 2 of the thesis has reflected the changes to community policing as a result of management practice, in particular, the influence of the New Public Management (NPM) processes. Statistically, levels of burglary have been seen as an indicator of the effectiveness of the police and as a result this offence has been subject to performance targets and much scrutiny by HMIC and government review. It was felt that in spite of recent government commitment to change this 'tick box' performance culture, that this might still become manifest within the police responses to the burglary based scenario. This offence is one which would principally be dealt with by a police officer but which might subsequently require PCSOs to act in a supporting role. This activity is covered by NOS 2C1 and public responses to this scenario will be based on a perception of possible personal victimisation.

Scenario 2) Robbery

This scenario was chosen to reflect a more significant offence which should be solely dealt with by police officers, but has been highlighted by national review, and anecdotal evidence locally, as one to which PCSOs have been sent and required to respond. Public respondents to this scenario are put at the heart of the scenario as potential victims as opposed to witnesses. The expectations of victims and the immediate responses by police personnel to the investigation of serious crime and the provision of support to victims are tested by this vignette.

Scenario 3) 'Locked Out'

The 'Locked Out' scenario was based upon an event which, whilst not the responsibility of the police might be perceived to be good public relations or providing support to vulnerable people. The vignette provided an opportunity for subjects to perceive a number of imagined associations with public need and provided a non-police incident which might be balanced against the other police focussed incidents, enabling the investigation of the role of the outlier, a key complexity concept. The scenario also reflects and supports a possible resolution by individuals or organisations away from front line policing.

Scenario 4) Potential Domestic Violence (Assault)

The potential Domestic Violence scenario was chosen as it reflected a commonly reported serious incident, the prescribed police response to which is

contained within NOS 2C1. It is also an incident to which PCSOs are not permitted to respond, but which anecdotally they report as having sometimes been sent to by the police control centre. Front line police constables, who have the sole responsibility to deal with this offence, have traditionally not responded to protect victims in the most appropriate way which has led to the introduction of 'Positive Action'. This dictates that action to protect victims and prevent further incidents from occurring should be a priority and, as a result, police discretion about potential action or non-action is removed. Public responses to this scenario are based on a perception of becoming a witness to events. Sadly the non-victimised public response to incidents such as this has been traditionally to ignore them; considering them best left to the parties involved to resolve. This scenario provided the researcher with the opportunity for a variety of expected and potentially unanticipated responses.

Scenario 5) Potential /Actual Common Assault

The offence of common assault is one with which only attested police officers have the power and authority to deal, but, PCSOs may be inadvertently sent, causing some difficulty and potential danger for PCSOs who are untrained for such an incident and consequently unprepared and unprotected. In the event that their response fails to meet required standards under NOS 2C1, and required legislation, they might find themselves personally subject to legal action. Some of the real situations to which officers might be called are described to them by the call handler in the vaguest of terms due to the lack of clear or incomplete information available from the original caller. This scenario provides police respondents with an opportunity to describe a variety of potential actions and is designed to elicit a public response based on a perception of becoming a witness to events

Scenario 6) Neighbour Disputes (linked to anti-social behaviour) and Scenario 7) Youths Drinking/Congregation in public spaces (linked to anti-social behaviour)

Each of these two scenarios is associated directly with the role and responsibilities of the PCSO and front line community based police and multi-agency activity. Both scenarios were directly related to government priorities at the commencement of the research and were subsequently of great interest to police managers. Responses were anticipated across the police subject groups which would reflect this targeted police-community engagement. These scenarios additionally reflect and support a possible resolution by individuals or organisations away from front line policing and provide stimulus for innovatory

responses which permit discretion and subsequently the non-criminalisation of the parties involved. The vignettes encourage police respondents to consider approaches advocated by problem orientated policing (Goldstein 1979). They were additionally designed to encourage respondents to reflect on alternative resolutions to the problem rather than simply 'get rid' of the problem as opposed to its source. In these scenarios members of the public could perceive themselves as either victims or witnesses to events

Final comments

The scenarios were principally developed as a result of the evidence from the literature review which identified common policing tasks which might be reflected by national occupational standards. This was combined with the specific requirements of the police at the time to reflect responses to anti-social behaviour. The resulting questions provided a test of the perceptions of the subject groups to realistic community issues which has ensured that the research question has been suitably investigated.

Section 4: An explanation of the development of the fieldwork and the subsequent meaning of the visual maps

Introduction

As anticipated, the fieldwork generated a wealth of complex data and the question of how best to analyse it, to fully and appropriately reflect the complexity of responses and enable comparison between the different groups was initially problematic. As a result of the initial review of literature and prior to the commencement of fieldwork for this research, the author had become interested in the theory and application of complexity and Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) as explored within the physical and social sciences and felt that this theoretical perspective might offer some ideas or a resolution to this dilemma.

This theoretical multidimensional stance appeared particularly pertinent when responding to complex questions such as that which the thesis sought to reflect.

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing.

This was relevant when exploring the impact of some of resolutions to the wicked problems prevalent within multi -agency/ police- community activity which the fieldwork had highlighted.

What were the key concepts and how did visual representation help?

In chapters 5 and 6 of the thesis the author reviewed literature which considered the impact and research of complex systems and its subsequent interpretation and presentation through visual systems. Work by Mitleton-Kelly (2003; 2004; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; 2011) advocated the use of visual representations of complex processes to enable readers /researchers to see organisational behaviours as complex evolving systems over time. She further confirmed that visually centred methods could be used to identify the characteristics and changes of complex systems from not only a qualitative and quantitative viewpoint but also from a broader environmental perspective. This model provided a contrast to methods of research more usually employed to explore police practice and would thus provide a unique approach to research of this type, enabling an opportunity to reflect a more dynamic explanation and representation of police behaviours as subsequently identified within the

fieldwork⁹. It also appeared to be able to reflect outliers to research which were of particular interest to this study.

Historically, there have been a number of challenges to engagement with visual research methods; principally because of the lack of guidance as to how to apply visual data (Rose 2014). This was a similar conundrum to issues around the application of 'complexity' when analysing data. Whilst much appeared to be written about results of studies into complex processes there did not appear to be many alternatives to utilising statistical analysis to achieve results. Carr (2007) indicates that such challenges additionally impact on the methods used to collate, analyse and disseminate the product of such research, which may cause visual researchers to step back to a more comfortable empirical position, in an endeavour to categorise visual materials as *quantitative* or *qualitative* data. Data visualisation however has secured the support of numerous researchers (Lofthus 1993; Feldman & Pastizzo, 2001; Pastizzo & Feldman, 2002; Smith and Prentice 1993), who feel that such methods provide researchers with opportunities to identify dynamic patterns that might not be evident within descriptive statistical analysis.

Visual research thus permits a truly trans-disciplinary approach to the organisation and presentation of research content, as it may adopt materials and research strategies from a number of perspectives, in order to reflect themes. Within this research, theories and methods had already been adapted from psychology; anthropology; criminology; media and computer studies; cultural geography and physical science as well as education which indicated that this approach might reflect a suitable fit. As a historical exemplar of the success of visual systems, work by Park and Burgess (1921) was used in the thesis as it not only provided a foundation for developments in understanding societal behaviours in relation to crime and social privation; but also an appreciation of context, which subsequently proved influential in the development of criminological and sociological theory¹⁰.

Lima (2011:251), emphasises the need to develop an individual's mental image of reality from a straight forward representation of decision making in order to change what can be seen at a surface level, to a more insightful

⁹ A more detailed discussion about the author's decision to adopt complex instruments is provided in Chapter 5 of the thesis.

¹⁰ See Figure 6.3 'The Concentric Zone Model' in Chapter 6 of the thesis. There are additional examples Figures 6.4 and 6.5 which provide suitable and relevant application of visual models.

display that; *'shifts the focus to the hidden but more meaningful.....causal factors that relate action to impact '*. He continues by stating that; *' a well-designed ambient visualisation should have the unique power to also help shape our identity as well as our experience of a place'*.

Associated with visual information, our understanding of the *bigger picture* including cause, context and effect, has an associative identity with complexity or complex systems and also Gestalt psychology (Dondis, 1974;Todorović, 2007). This suggests an appeal not only to visual but also physical senses. These elements evidence support for an approach which reflects a visual representation of a world view.

Prior to becoming a member of academic staff the author had worked as a Business Analyst and as a result was experienced in visually plotting processes and human behaviours to assess and reflect time and motion in a business environment. She was consequently aware of the need to interpret language carefully and suitably reflect action in a clear and meaningful way. Whilst it was felt that the icons and methods of the business analyst were insufficiently flexible to reflect the complexities of this study it was noted that the principles of plotting data were the same. Initially it was decided to use a series of decision trees to reflect the responses of the research subjects but, after testing and developing mapping techniques to represent historical cases by means of the Microsoft PowerPoint software package a more dynamic process was developed.

Testing the model of complexity mapping

Whilst progressing the literature review, the author began to 'unpick' the processes inherent in serious historical cases which had resulted in the police, or other public facing agencies, being called to account because of significant errors of action or inactivity whilst working within community settings. She discovered that it was possible to discern similar basic patterns within the behaviours and activities identified within these cases. Principally, an event or incident would occur and then, once a choice had been made to respond to the 'incident', it became an attractant to which other 'actors' who were involved would respond. As an attractant it meant that the course of associated actions or procedures would be changed as a result of its existence. The subsequent behaviours of those involved then depended on the choices made or the impact of other areas of attraction or, alternatively, shadow systems, which worked in the background to potentially undermine or alter generally expected/predicted behaviours.

Additionally it was noted that in these historical cases the relationship between individual and organisational learning became relevant as organisations which were stuck in *single loop learning processes* (Argyris and Schon, 1978:2) did not appear to be able to successfully respond to external change dynamics. They were consequently stuck in a loop of repeated behaviours which did not reflect change when it occurred. This meant that uninformed or inappropriate responses to processes were consistently reinforced and innovation was squashed. This reflected evidence of police and other organisational behaviours manifest in critical reviews such as those undertaken by Bichard (2004), Laming (2005) and Smith (2005); and policy proposals such as O'Connor's (2005) *Closing the Gap*. In addition to mapping examples of critical reviews and practice debates, research by Chan (2005) was used as a test case for mapping.

The development of the test maps revealed a number of common features which appeared to influence complex police processes at a macro and micro level. These included the influences of language and communication, culture, geography, organisational behaviour, professional practice or experience and knowledge. These 'invisible' attractants to behaviours would also need to be reflected in the maps which represented the fieldwork.

The use of the 'Control' element within this research.

In order to engage with the research materials in a manner that would suitably exhibit their complexity, or possible difference from an expected 'norm', a *control element* was introduced. This would be grounded in the National Occupational Standards (NOS) for police work, and would provide a base line of societal expectations of police responses¹¹ to the scenarios. The schematic maps were developed in conjunction with an experienced police trainer and were grounded within the NOS and practical police training and based on the *expected* behaviours of the police.¹² This person was chosen for his competence in post, exemplified by formal relevant qualifications held, together with experience (over 20 years in post) and responsibility for having trained several thousand PCSOs and Police Officers of various ranks in a number of regional police forces in the UK. These maps were based on national police training

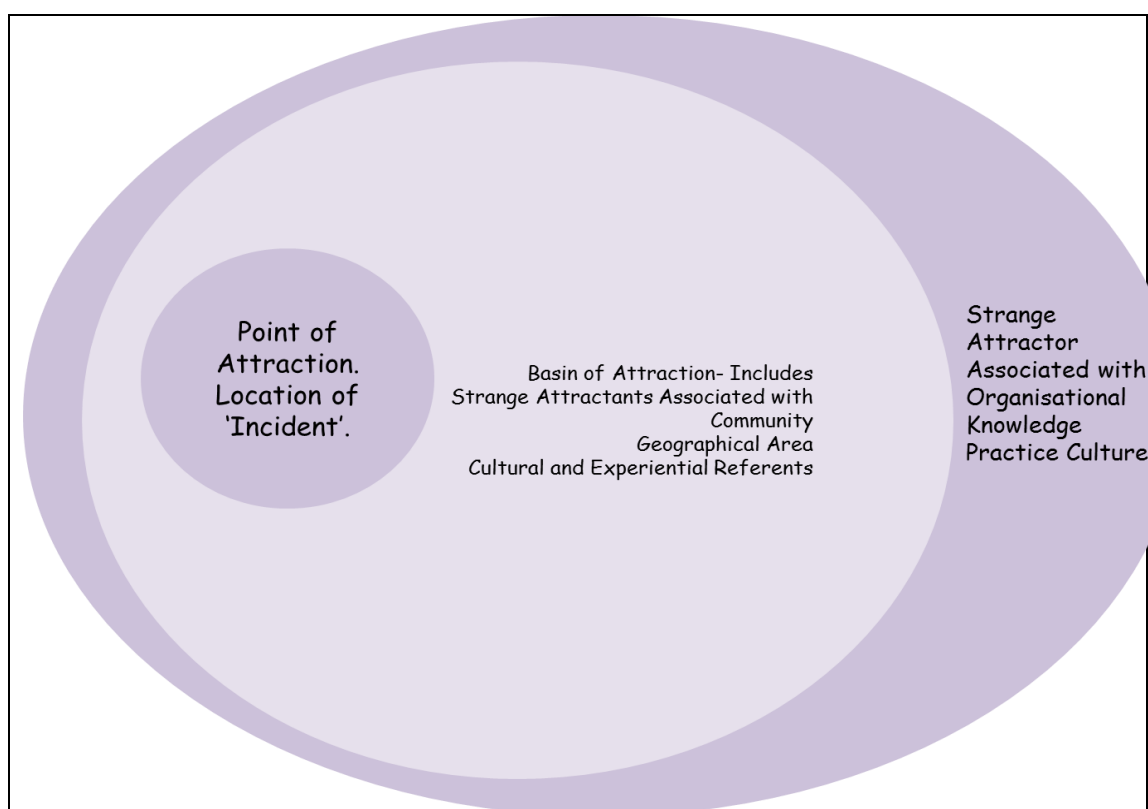
¹¹ This was identified by government standards.

¹² NB: The content of police training has been universally applied for many years and been formally defined and audited by lesson plans and class tests. The knowledge taught to officers in this way not only includes their legal responsibilities and behaviours but in more recent years the requirement to meet NOS.

requirements, combined with actions identified by the NOS requirement (2C1), to produce a template for a preferred sequence of activity which would represent the actions of officers expected by the Home Office. Where officer-specific activities for the PCSO and/or they were noted in the template-mapping process by labels highlighting this requirement.

The introduction of a control not only provided a set of templates against which other responses might be measured but also reflected the essential expectations of police practice. A foundation schematic (Figure 8.1) reflected, within the different zones, the influences of Cultural, Geographical, Organisational, Experiential and Knowledge based complex systems on the actions and decisions taken. This was based on the common features identified by the pilot mapping process and an understanding of complex systems. Baseline responses could then be mapped against this *foundation* level schematic to identify areas of *attraction*, *bifurcation*, *spheres of influence* (such as shadow systems) and *processes* linked to behaviours¹³. Figure 8.2 below provides an exemplar of the initial plotting exercise of control responses to Scenario 1.

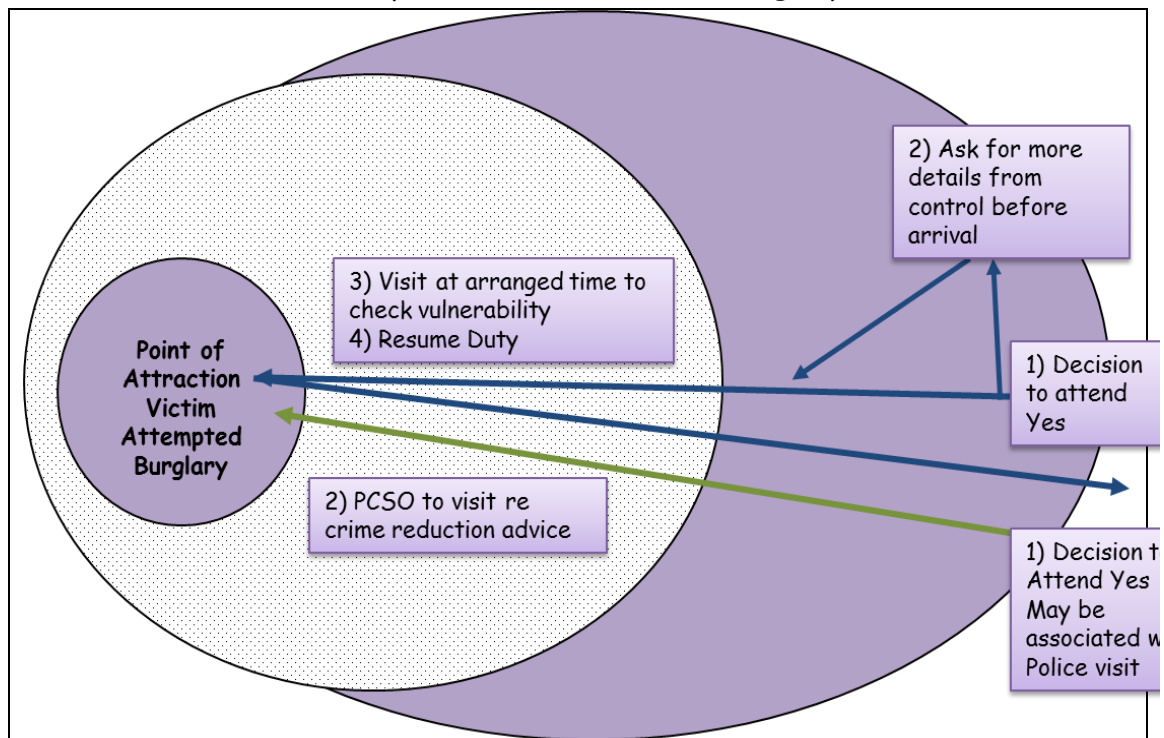
Figure 8.1: Foundation schematic of the mapping process



¹³ A detailed example of this process is to be found in Figure 8.9 Draft 1 of the mapping process Response from Sgt 1 on page 617 of the thesis.

Figure 8.2: Basic process for Scenario 1

'Attempted Break In/Potential Burglary'.



NB: In this diagram Police officer actions are indicated by a blue arrow and PCSO actions are indicated by the green arrow.

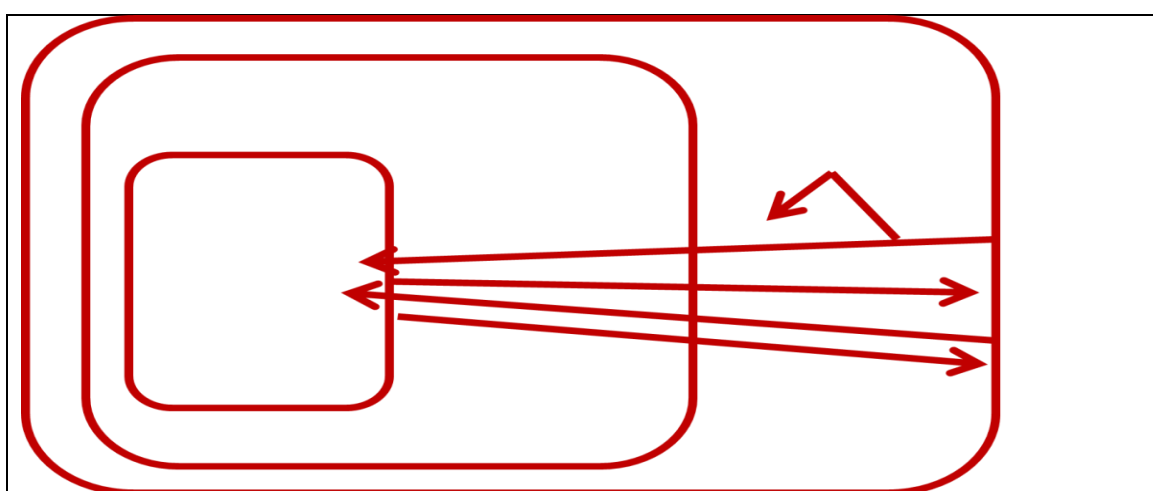
This model suggests that police officers should attend the suspected break in /potential burglary, asking force control for additional information about the incident on route to the location. The time of attendance should be based on an officer's contact with the potential victim. Once in attendance officers should check and respond to the vulnerability of both the property and the victim. When this has been dealt with officers should resume their former duty. The PCSO role is noted as being applied to a follow up visit to provide crime reduction advice. This control mapping exercise provides for the very basic level of activity.

The development of overlay control templates

Templates of the key features highlighted by the mapping process were generated to enable an overlay, which was based on the research, to highlight similarities or contrasts between task expectations, (from the management group); hypothetical or actual responses, (from front line staff) and public requirements. They were consequently used to identify key reference points and differences within the maps generated for the research. Figure 8.3 provides an

example of the template overlay derived from the map of the basic process for Scenario 1 indicating the simplified procedure of basic expected action. Each of the overlays were drawn as a result of the identification of key bifurcation points or points of attraction from the basic NOS based process maps. In this simplified format they could easily be compared to other maps developed as part of the research. In the template Figure 8.3, for example, the features of the various zones/basins of attraction are identified and the unbroken direction arrows indicate the behaviours of the actors involved.

Figure 8.3: Template for key features of the NOS/Control process Scenario 1.



This process was repeated for all 7 scenarios.

Where multiagency responses were indicated by the control, the maps additionally reflected the influences of other organisational cultures, experiences, and behaviours in addition to their basic organisational procedural responsibility (see Figures 8.8 and 8.9 in the thesis).

Interpretation and transcription of the language used in the interviews

Culture and language were recognised within the literature review to be important. The language we use, and its subsequent interpretation, is prone to internal as well as environmental influences (Whorf 1956). The theory of *Linguistic Relativity* suggests that thought may be dependent on language (linguistic determinism) and additionally represent unique forms of language-specific encoding (linguistic relativism). According to Sapir;

'Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society...The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built on the language habits of the group...We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation'. (Sapir cited in Littlejohn, 2002, p.177).

This was felt by the researcher to be associated with the police cultural/ linguistic perception of the world, as generally reflected in the 'Sapir Whorf Hypothesis' (Whorf 1956). As the researcher recorded and plotted the responses to the scenario based questions, she was mindful of the possible impact of linguistic relativity on the work. Policing has its own language which may need interpretation at times. The word 'Nominal' for example means someone who has previously been found guilty of an offence, but, it is equally applied to an individual of criminal interest who may not have previously been found guilty of an offence.

Thus a more comparable representation of experiences and expectations may be represented by the development of a visual representation of the processes, initially identified by lexical responses to the research questions. In doing this, the essence of the meanings located within the 'occupational language' associated with policing can be retained whilst simultaneously becoming a relevant mode of comparison for other responses. As a consequence, maps were generated to visually represent an organised, structural, three dimensional mental image of reality, which simply accounted for the physical and cognitive differences of the respondent's understanding, and any cultural influences in their interpretation and application of language. This conceptual model reflected not only perceptions of the groups interviewed but additionally acknowledged time as a factor within a police response. This was identified by the use of different types of lines within the mapping process.

Method of mapping subject responses

Overview

Each map was generated in three stages.

Stage 1, involved the researcher in the numerical ordering of the research subject's responses to the scenario based question. These were subsequently plotted on to a basic draft map for each individual response.

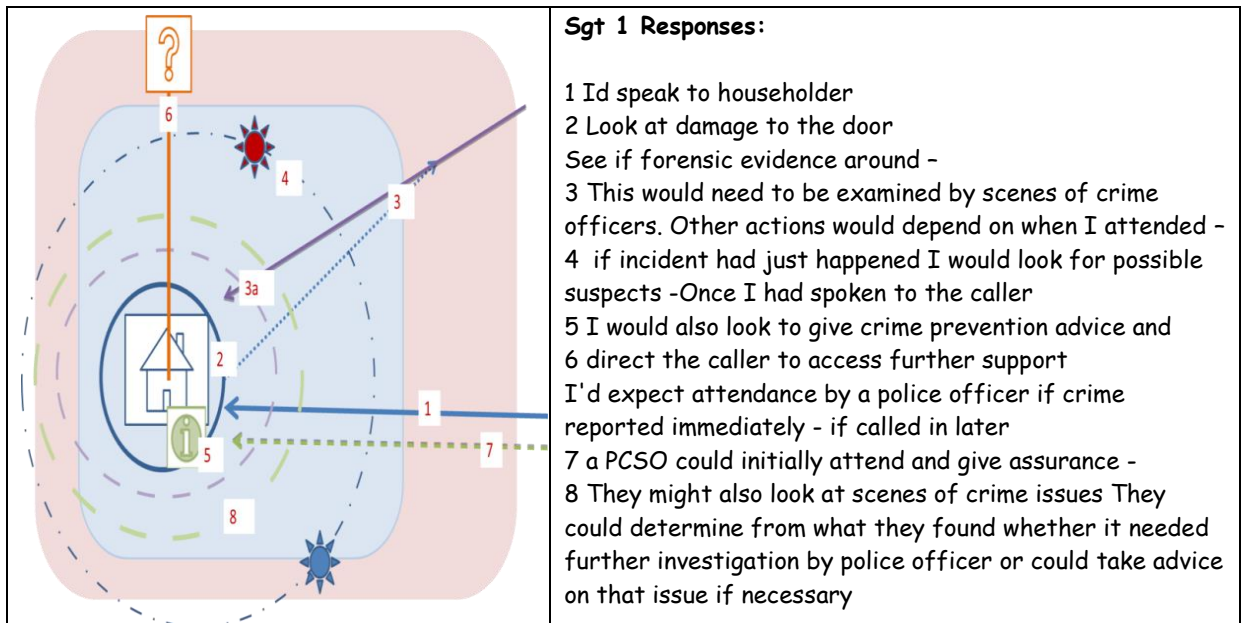
Stage 2, the map created as a result of the first draft phase was 'tidied up' as part of the second draft to ensure greater visual clarity of content and process.

Finally- Stage 3, the groups of maps produced as a result of this process were collated and consolidated to reflect the behaviours and opinions of the subject groups highlighting particular differences. Maps could then be compared between one another and against the NOS template.

Explanation of Stage 1 of this process.

Figure 8.10 presents the first draft of the mapping of responses of the research subject known as Sgt 1 to scenario 1. The responses are given alongside the map to demonstrate how language was reflected. The interpretation of language, as formerly noted, became of particular importance as the researcher did not wish to *miss* or reinterpret what was being said but ensure that it was accurately reflected within the analysis.

Figure 8.10: Mapping example: Draft 1 of the mapping process -Scenario 1
Response from Sgt 1



The mapping process began by sequentially listing the responses of the interview subject. They were numbered to reflect a series of actions that were then mapped onto the foundation schematic. For the purpose of the model this means that the incident is situated at the centre of a *basin of attraction* and respondent actions are attracted towards it. In scenario 1 the core attractor relates to the property where the possible or attempted 'Break in' /Potential Burglary occurred and/ or any potential victim/s involved.

Generating the Keys for the mapping process

Whilst the first draft of the maps provided an accurate representation of the processes it was felt that the material needed to be more visually appealing and be seen to use symbols or icons which might more significantly be associated with the activities involved. The data from each scenario was scrutinised in detail and the researcher created a series of visual signifiers which provided a more suitable, easier to understand, representation of the actors and behaviours highlighted by the research subjects. To accommodate the differences identified between respondents, a scenario specific 'key' was developed which represented the potential variants. These generally represented police behaviours, occupational tools, locational attractants, public behaviours, various alternative organisational actors and the different types of influence (attractant) within each scenario. The images, which were created by the researcher to signify the perceived behaviours of the various actors and

potential actors involved within the scenarios, are *consistently applied within each scenario* but may be differently *applied between scenarios*. In Scenario 4 for example, the possible victim of domestic assault may be male or female. As a result, both signifiers (the male and female images) can be viewed as either a victim or an offender. The same images are used in other scenarios to represent victims of crime or callers to the police. These signify the actors rather than the actions. Whilst a series of keys has been created to provide an overview of meaning for all of the image/signifiers within the research, the key which is directly associated with each scenario presents information which symbolises subject responses directly associated with that scenario.

Actions and behaviours were represented throughout the mapping process by means of a series of lines. An immediate action for all subjects within the research for example was represented by coloured, subject-specific unbroken lines. The lines indicated the physical direction of an actor and were usually linked to the centre of activity or attraction. Where this action is delayed the line becomes a series of long dashes. These lines may also reflect the passage of time, dependant on the scenario. Like the unbroken lines however they indicate the direction of an actor and his or her subsequent behaviours. The various communications between actors and organisations are indicated by means of a series of dotted lines. Police patrol behaviours were usually indicated by dots and dashed lines which circled around the centre of activity or attraction. This is explained in more detail in section 8.13 of the thesis.

The separation of data from 'Front Line Officer' groups

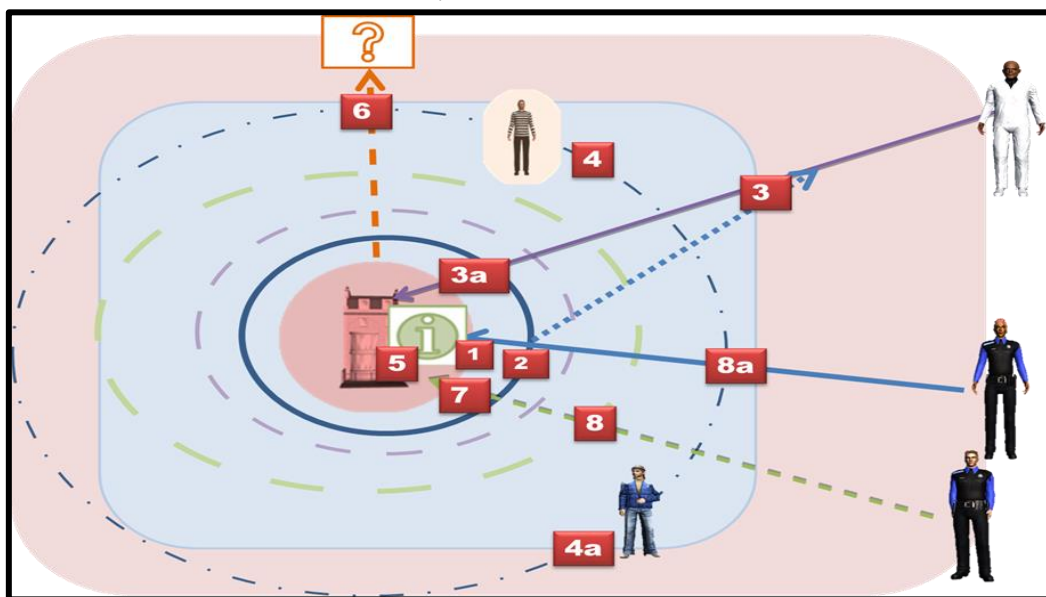
The category of 'front line officer' includes the role of constable, sergeant, and PCSO, each with diverse roles and responsibilities. As the mapping process continued it became obvious that there were role and potentially duty specific responses exhibited by the different groups which might be associated with the influence of possible shadow systems of culture and the expectations of society. Each role within this category appeared to have its own unique set of attractants associated with activities in spite of working to common guidance. In some of the scenarios for example some PCSO respondents acknowledged that they should not be involved in resolving the problems outlined, having no relevant policing powers, but would however still be sent to attend. Sergeant ranks tended to discuss the scenarios in a slightly different way to other front line officers, bridging the response of senior

managers and front line staff. It was decided to separate the front line analysis into three components to represent each rank in order to identify any differences or trends within them. These ranks would then be compared to the other respondent groups, the police managers and the public.

Stage 2 of the mapping process

Figure 8.10a shows the second draft of the mapping process and continues to reflect the responses from the research subject known as 'Sgt 1'.

*Figure 8.10a Mapping example Draft 2 of the mapping process -Scenario 1
Response from Sgt 1*



As a result of the use of improved signifiers the second 'draft' map reflects individual responses in a more discernible way, identifying the potential attractants of the local community, which includes knowledge and perceptions about that community, but also the perceptions and knowledge of the community about levels of crime. Similarly, it recognises that this 'basin of attraction' holds for the officers who attend positive, negative or neutral perceptions about the local community or their potential actions which may be reinforced by the culture of policing or their knowledge or practice of the law.

In spite of these aesthetic improvements, however, these maps continued to be representative of raw data alone as opposed to a consolidation of the data for analysis.

Applying the mapping procedure to this research

A schematic was initially plotted for every subject response, a total of 419 maps. This represented 246 police and 153 public explanations of the scenarios which were used in the research interviews.

Whilst this is reflected in Appendix 10a of the thesis and discussed in Chapter's 7 and 8, the following tables provide an overview of the varied subject responses and thus represent the influence of sampling within this study.

Leicestershire Constabulary Staff Response to Scenario Questions by Rank

Rank	Supt	Insp	Sgt	PC	PCSO	Total
Scenario/ Question Number						
1	2	4	5	8	13	32
2	1	1	4	12	12	30
3	2	3	6	6	15	32
4	1	3	5	10	10	29
5	2	3	5	8	12	30
6	2	3	4	8	12	29
7	2	2	5	7	13	29
Final	2	3	6	10	14	35
Total	14	22	40	69	101	246

Response to Scenario Questions: Public Response

Scenario/ Question Number	All Public	Age: 18-30	Age: 30-50	Age Over 50	Total
1	20	7	6	7	20
2	20	7	6	7	20
3	20	7	6	7	20
4	20	7	6	7	20
5	19	7	6	6	19
6	17	5	6	6	17
7	17	5	6	6	17
Final	20	7	6	7	20
Total	153	52	48	53	153

For the purpose of the thesis presentation the resulting schematic material or maps generated represented a series of drafts which visually

reflected raw data. Refined versions (draft 2) of a sample of these schematics were consequently used as examples to provide, within the thesis, a detailed explanation of the mapping procedure. This process is reviewed in Chapter 8 of the thesis which additionally describes the development of the schematics or representative maps for the National Occupational Standards (NOS).

Stage 3: Consolidating the data

Once the maps which reflected the responses of all of the subject groups to the scenarios were created, it was necessary for the researcher to consolidate the mapped responses by identifying and collating data which reflected the range of choices and both the common and unusual features of each group's response. These responses then became a constituent of a scenario/group representative map which reflected the category of respondent and their perceived behaviours within each scenario. The consolidation maps represented the refined data from which comparisons and visual analysis could then made.

Explanation and conclusions drawn from the mapping exercise

The following sections will explain the meaning of the consolidated maps which were focused on common community based policing issues and will consider their research impact and practice based implications.

These are based on the Scenario based questions as follows:

- Scenario 1) Attempted Break in /Potential Burglary,
- Scenario 2) Robbery,
- Scenario 3) A police non-action report of an individual becoming 'Locked Out' of their
home.
- Scenario 4) Potential Domestic Violence,
- Scenario 5) A Potential/ Actual Common Assault,
- Scenario 6) Neighbour Disputes (linked to anti-social behaviour),
- Scenario 7) Youths Drinking/Congregation in public spaces (linked to anti-social
behaviour)

Overview of the commentary.

Please note that for the purposes of this summary Scenario 1 will be explored in detail¹⁴, discussion about the other scenarios can be found within the thesis.

Scenario 1

The following section reflects the responses from each subject group; front line officers; police sergeants, constables and PCSOs; police managers and members of the public and provides the reader with:

- a) A reminder of the question reflecting the basic vignette
- b) A key which signifies activity and enables a physical link to the behaviours represented by the consolidated map and
- c) A copy of a consolidated group map reflecting the responses from each subject group, with an explanation of what each map means

A summary of the deductions drawn from the research as identified within the comparisons of the maps is provided within the final section.

¹⁴ *As requested by the clarification document/addendum to the statement of deficiencies.*

Scenario 1): Attempted Break in /Potential Burglary.
The responses of Front Line Officers.

The following represents the question which was given to front line officers (police constables PCSOs and sergeants).

The Question:

I gave a member of the public the following scenario:

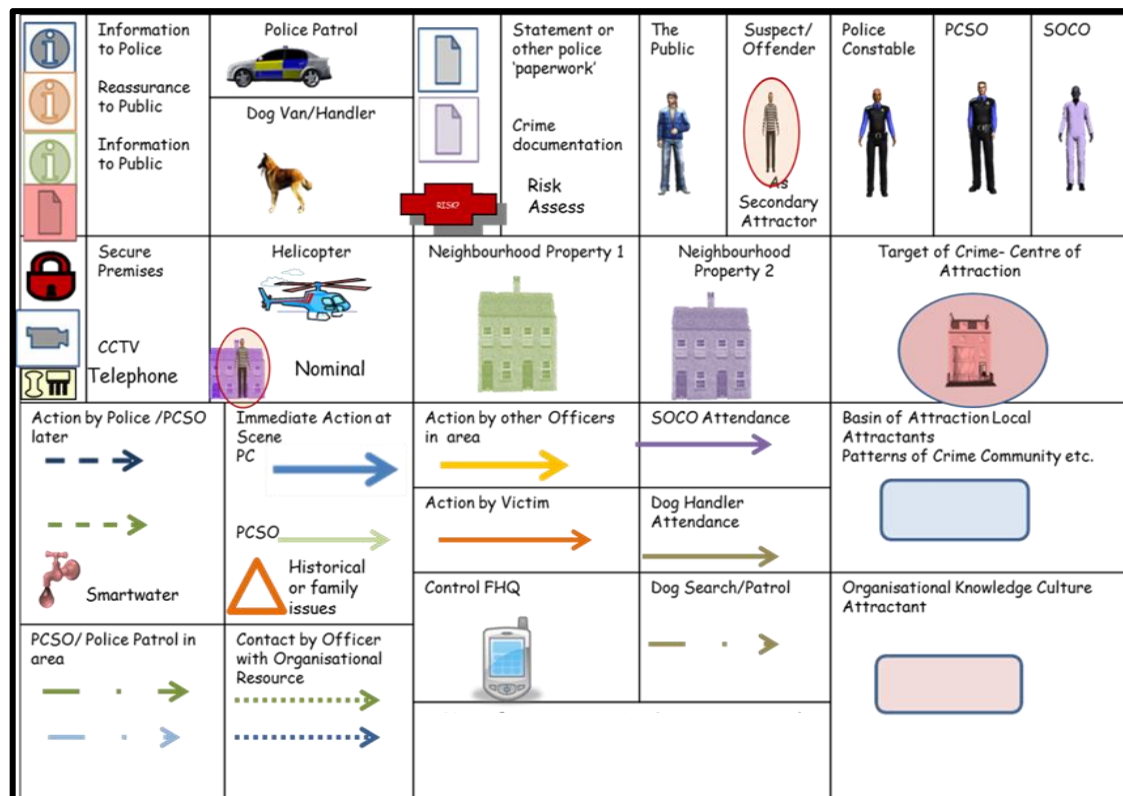
You are at home alone one evening and you hear a noise as though someone is trying to break in to your home - You put on the main lights and the noise stops but on investigation you find that someone has tried to force entry to your back door. I then asked them under this situation- Would you contact the police?

a) Should they call the police?

b) In your capacity as front line police staff if called to this incident what would you do?

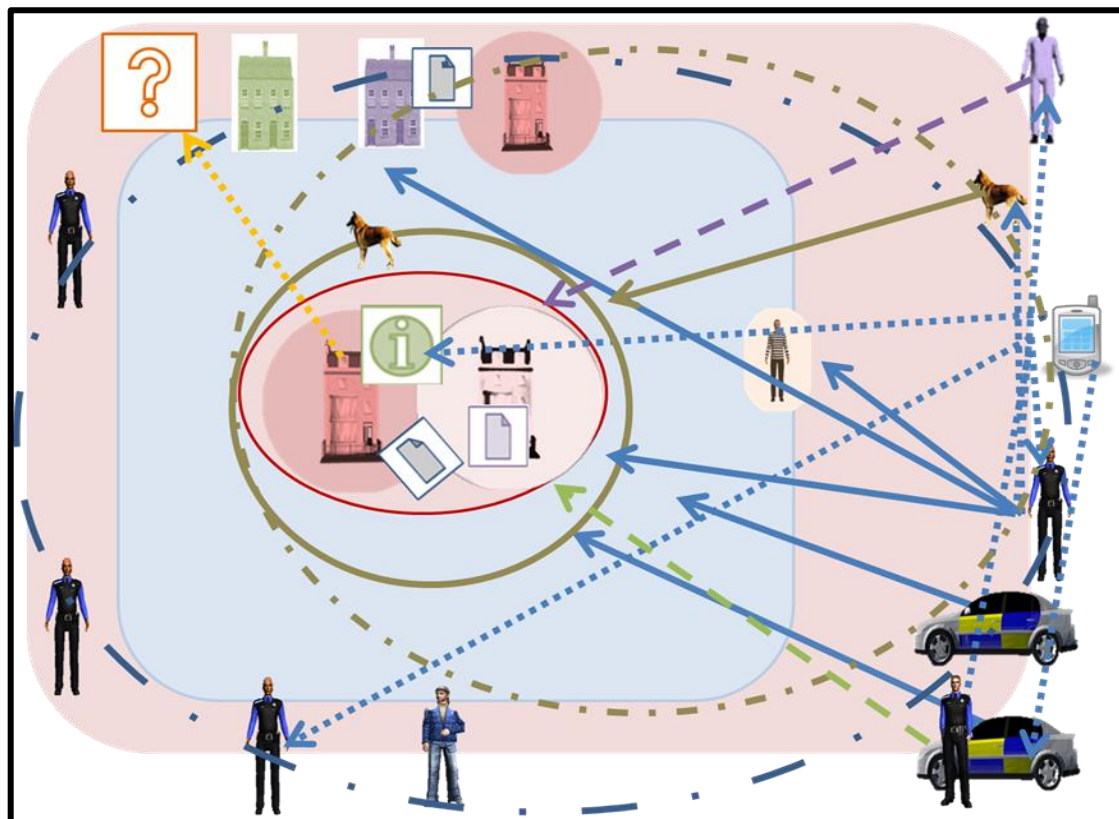
The Key

Figure 8.12: Key to Mapping Process Scenario 1



The Sergeants Response

Figure 8.13: Consolidated Response- Sergeants Scenario 1



In consolidating the responses from the five sergeant respondents, a number of potential praxis or methods of dealing with this (relatively straightforward) incident can be observed.

At a basic level there was recognition that officers should attend the incident. This is reflected within the map by the unbroken blue lines which are arrowed and directed towards the centre of the incident.

Because the report, which was represented by the scenario question, did not specify whether a burglary had actually taken place there was also recognition by all subjects that the attractant, that is the victim/victimised property, could exist simultaneously holding different characteristics within the same incident. This is reflected within the diagram by the property symbol in pink, alongside a shaded version of the same symbol, at the centre of the basin of attraction.

This indicated that whilst a response was dependent on reality or what was really happening, prior to, or at the time when the officers arrived at the

scene, it was also reflective of the perceptions of those involved; akin to the Schrödinger's cat¹⁵ dilemma as follows:

Was there a burglary? Was there an attempted burglary? Did someone just try to 'break in' because they had lost their house key? Was the concern caused by foxes in the back garden? Was the caller unwell and seeking attention? Was this incident associated with others in the area? Was it just children playing about?

As the examples of the responses by the sergeant subjects indicate there appears to be a variety of perceived possible explanations for the scenario.

The influence of the Call Handler

It was noted that whilst this type of multivariate attractant or configuration could affect the initial response, the nature of the incident and the perception of the call handler to the initial contact, and their consequent linguistic interpretation of the call could also elicit a number of potential responses. The consequence might be that any misunderstandings caused by the transmission or receipt of the message might elicit or catalyse unexpected behaviours at the core or target of the crime. This may alter the nature of the core attractant in some circumstances, changing the incident and its resolution, from a simple to a wicked problem which might ultimately change the character of the record, report and response to the offence. The call handlers' behaviour is identified in the map by the mobile phone icon. The dotted lines which transverse the scheme reflects the various communications between officers, other agents of the police¹⁶, the public and the call handler.

Whilst the impact of the call handler was rarely noted by the sergeant group, their initial decision to send staff to an incident and accompanying direction is seen within the maps to alter the subsequent deployment of resources, and the responses subsequently identified by the front line officers. Call handlers were noted within the consolidation processes as being available to give advice and reassurance or elicit further information from the caller. Klein et al's (2006) development of the 'data/ frame' model of 'sense making', a technologically mediated activity, (Attfield and Blandford 2011), can be associated with this process as the response of the call handler, whilst it may be

¹⁵ See Figure 5:2 page 180 of the Thesis

¹⁶ In this example, the actions of the Scenes of Crime Personnel (SOCCO) who subsequently attends to gather evidence at the crime scene (if there is one) are highlighted by the purple dashed line

seen to be mainly prescriptive in these contexts, can also be perceived as proactive being based on expertise and experience.

The deployment of 'Police Dogs'

The 'call out' to request the attendance of police dogs at the scene, highlighted, by the brown lines, indicates attendance as part of normal patrol duties after direct communication with the officer in attendance. They change from a direct response (signified by an unbroken direct line) to investigation at the scene (the circle around the centre of attraction) back to patrol (the broader circle which covers the community at large signified by a dot dash line). Police dogs were seen by all sergeant respondents as a useful investigation and tracking tool.

The 'Centre of Attraction'

It was reported that the property at the heart of the incident (the Centre of Attraction) might need to be attended by officers as an emergency because of the householder's vulnerability or because of the perceptions associated with the description or report of the potential incident. This is represented by the symbol of the police car which is linked to the incident by a blue line. As a result of the complexity of the scene, attendance by an additional vehicle might also be necessary; this is reflected by a second police car icon which is associated with the PCSO symbol. This visit may either take place immediately in the company of a second police officer (the solid blue line linked to the car) or independently by the PCSO later (the green dashed line) to give victim support (the type of 'victim' support was undefined by the subjects and is represented by the orange question mark).

Officers might additionally attend on foot as an urgent visit (again identified by the unbroken arrowed blue line). These responses also reflect the potential for the identification of a suspect on route to the potential scene of crime (identified by a representative offender icon). Stops and searches or enquiries with members of the public as part of patrol duties are also noted. These actions are represented by a combination of blue dot dashed lines (which represent a police patrol) associated with police icons and a symbol which is representative of the public.

The possibility of further crimes, locally committed, being identified as a result of this incident is also highlighted. In this instance as a result of house to house enquiries. The second area of attraction or potential crime scene is represented by a second pink property icon; the other property icons in green

and purple represent properties visited as a result of further enquiries. This may be identified as an expansion of the same crime activity or a non-related incident which emphasises the general vulnerability of an area.

A neighbouring property may, for example, have been formerly targeted by an offender but the incident may not have been reported to the police. This amalgamation of data relating to a neighbourhood is essential to the process of crime pattern analysis (Craglia et al, 2000).

All of these variations make the initial report and response to the offence exist in different forms. This appears to be representative of; '*an accumulation of frozen accidents*' as noted by Gell-Mann (1995).

There was an acknowledgement by the sergeant respondents that as a result of either the time of the incident or its report or the type of victim at the centre of report, our basin of attraction may change the nature of response. As Sgt 4 noted; '*If the Caller is vulnerable- (we should check) - a car could go straight there to the address- if necessary there may be the potential for a dog to track at the scene- we need a clinical scene preservation. The use of dogs are dependent on location for tracking*'

The police constable role in dealing with this situation was noted by all sergeant subjects as being paramount; if the response to, or report of the incident was postponed by victim however it was seen as less of a priority. In those circumstances the role of the PCSO was seen as useful in that it was appropriate for them to manage procedures at the scene, give reassurance to victims, (in this case the householder), take statements or make reports. Only one of the respondents did not acknowledge the potential use of this role.

Police constables were generally seen by the sergeant respondents as acting swiftly as an urgent response in vehicles to aid victims or swamping the area in order to *stop and search* potential suspects, who were also identified by the officers as *incidentally* being discovered on route to the location, or as a result of this proactive search process. This positive action was associated with the early circulation of information.

In addition to being at the centre of their own crime focussed attractant, members of the public were recognised as being potential witnesses to the incident as householders or become otherwise involved through stops and searches as part of the investigation process. The use of dogs or other specialists such as Scenes of Crime Officers (SOCOs) were seen as valuable resources when associated with this scenario. The role of police dogs in

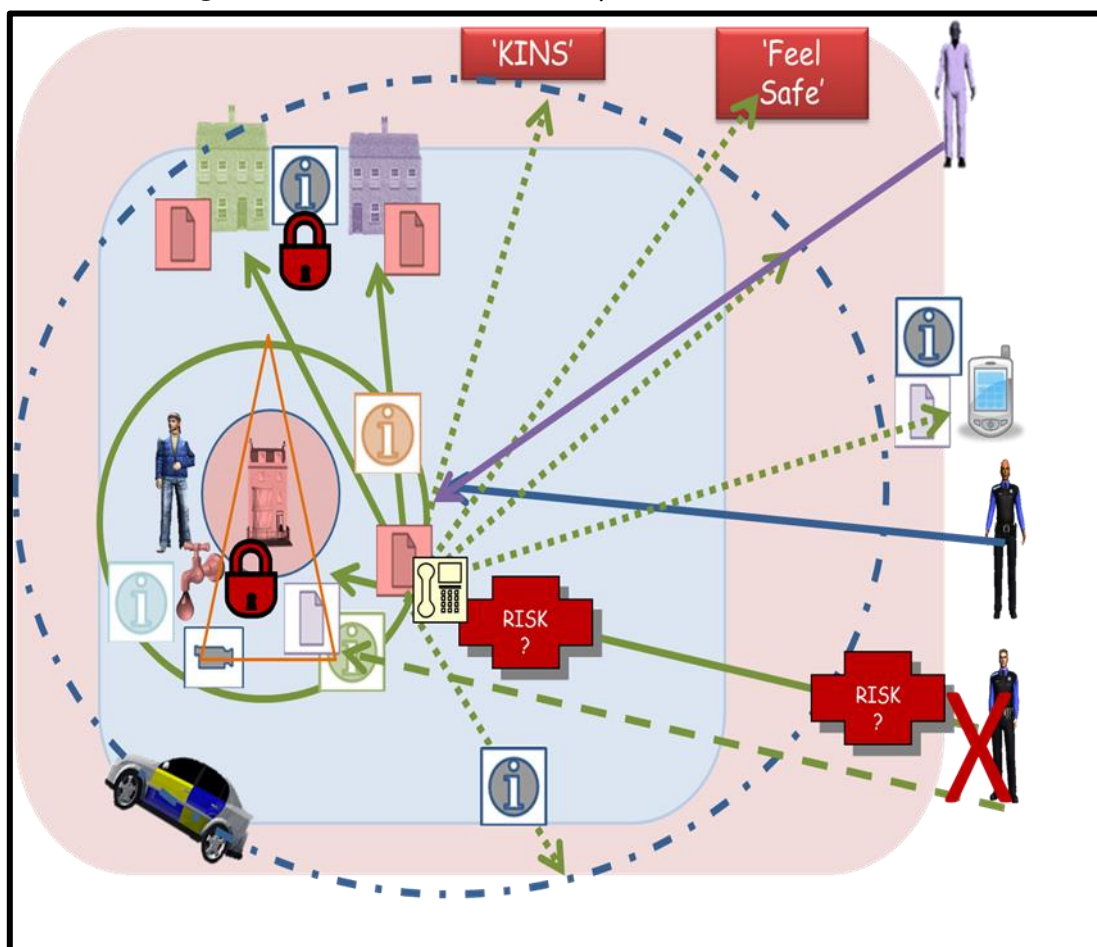
particular, when associated with the more immediate response, were seen as potentially guiding or influencing the direction of the subsequent investigation by uncovering scent trails and searching for possible suspects.

The facilitation by officers or guidance to an alternative source of help for the victim was also recognised by one of our sergeant respondents. Further comment about the direction from which that help might originate was notably absent.

The PCSO response

The control map indicated that whilst PCSOs might have a role to play in supporting police officers at this incident, they would (or should) not be sent as primary responders. However, as the consolidation map shows, generally PCSOs did see that they had a role as responders, when needed, as a number could anecdotally relate to having experienced a similar situation.

Figure 8.12: Consolidated Response- PCSOs Scenario 1



Nine of the thirteen PCSO respondents noted that collaborative working with police officers and other teams within the police service was important

(this is highlighted by the police car and officer icons). A couple stated that risk assessments would be important to their decision making processes throughout the incident and, most importantly, would affect their decision to attend (identified by the red 'Risk ?' cross icons and the large red X- which signified a decision not to attend).

Whilst one PCSO initially stated that he would not attend this scenario as this was the role of a police officer, he subsequently recanted the decision explaining in some detail what he would do if he was sent.

All PCSOs appreciated that their role was not to act as first responders but to act as supporters to the police, gathering intelligence and evidence and communicating with others at the scene to more fully understand the incident and advise re security or provide physical support if necessary.

They all noted that the support of the victim was paramount.

Unlike the police managers and other front line officers no PCSO noted the possibility of using police dogs as a resource to take a scent trail and track an offender -part of a proactive criminal investigation.

For some respondents the more process-driven aspects of investigative practice were focussed on, with three officers identifying the need to arrange for attendance by a SOCCO (highlighted this time by an unbroken line purple which infers immediacy). The procurement of additional physical information about the offence from CCTV was also noted as a source of possible evidence in the area (this is identified by the CCTV icon). The focus on procedure is reinforced by icons that relate to the completion of reports and statements¹⁷.

Officers of this rank appeared aware that the processing of intelligence about such an incident was important, as was the care support and security of the victim, which was at the heart of each response. This aspect was associated with officers linking to *KINS* or 'Key Information Networks' locally to raise awareness but also obtain intelligence about potential perpetrators. External organisations were identified as a source of further victim support; the 'Feel Safe' organisation was noted as being useful in this situation. Contrary to possible expectations, the principle victim's organisation 'Victim Support' was not mentioned as the emphasis of these responses was on the physical security of

¹⁷ Icons which represent 'I' for information and 'documents' refer to the transfer and generation of this type of materials

the property and immediate emotional support provided by a contact or family member of the victim.

Like the map of the sergeant group, communication is reflected between the call handler, the victim and the support agencies. This is identified by the green dotted lines.

One PCSO remarked that he would be prepared to board up windows and make property secure himself if necessary to ensure victim safety (the padlock icon) whilst another stated the need to return to the property later to check on the victims wellbeing (identified by the green dashed line). The formal requirement to update the victim of any developments in the case within 21 days was also identified by an officer (Victims Code of Practice 2006) with the offer of *Smart Water*¹⁸ (the dripping tap icon) to mark and identify property in case of any further occurrence.

Historical issues relating to the householder or location were also considered as possibly important. This is identified by the orange triangle. Whilst this appeared to be approaching the incident in a different way to that identified by senior officer/managers or sergeants, an appreciation of former (historical) events was also recognised by one of the police constable respondents. This may relate to the concept of repeat victimisation (Farrell and Pease 1993).

The focus on the potential victim's subsequent needs as a result of their victimisation was recognised by these officers who reported the need to reassure the victim later on in the investigative process and stated that they would leave details of how to contact officers dealing with the incident and return to see the victim later if required.

¹⁸ SmartWater is a proprietary forensic asset marking System and Strategy protected by worldwide trademarks and patents.

The control map indicated that police constables would be the principal responders to this incident and have responsibility for dealing with both victim and property needs. Whilst there were a number of similarities with consolidated, 'mapped' responses from other ranks involved in the research the following areas were identified as being significant within the police constable data set.

Whilst common responses from the research respondents were not specifically identified within the final maps they were considered during the consolidation process.

- Police procedure and investigation was accentuated by a number of officers who focused on the use of dogs to search and track possible offenders.¹⁹

¹⁹ This is represented by the brown dashed line as this was a delayed response not associated with normal patrol duties and was noted by four of the eight officers interviewed

- The utilisation of helicopter support to track offenders and the use of SOCCO's for evidence gathering at the scene was highlighted by two of the respondents²⁰.
- The broader perspective of the crime scene was reinforced by the need to swamp the area with various police resources and use powers of stop and check or search on anyone *looking suspicious or fitting the information*²¹ *circulated (via the blue communication dots*²²*).*
- One officer indicated that known offenders, or *nominals*, might be targeted as being more likely to have committed an offence of this type²³.
- The homes of 'suspected offenders' are additionally noted as being part of this targeting process²⁴.

One respondent (PC2), focused solely on the possibility of arrest and failed to mention the term *victim* at all within his response.

'I would get as many officers there as I could- Id place cordon on the area and ask for a dog. If the occurrence was recent and if the call out immediate-I would check nominals ²⁵in local area and check recent intelligence. I'd just ensure whilst I was there that if people in area looked suspicious I'd try to find out if they might be responsible'

In a similar vein another officer noted that once he got a description of a potential suspect he would endeavour to find them on-route to the incident, and, only if this failed would he attend the crime scene.

The use of front line partners within the service went largely ignored by the majority of this sample with only one officer recognising the use of a PCSO for door to door and crime prevention advice (represented by the PCSO icon and the unbroken green lines). Only one officer considered contacting a relative for support to the victim. This is represented by the orange house icon.

²⁰ The helicopter is shown within the map as covering the whole area of the potential incident to identify any unusual community behaviours from the air.

²¹ As represented by the 'I' icon

²² Five officers subsequently reported that within the scenario there would be the potential for contact with a suspect as a result of police swamp activity in the area, or on-route to the property. This patrol requirement is represented by the use of police constable icons over the use of the dot dash lines.

²³ This is represented by the offender icon enclosed by a red ring which represents an additional attractant.

²⁴ These are represented by the dark purple house icon superimposed by the offender /attractant icon.

²⁵ Known offenders

These behaviours appear to provide some contrast with other sample groups under consideration.

Hughes and Huby, (2004, p.43) noted that vignette techniques of research may more generally evoke; '*socially desirable patterns of responding*', and, whilst it may be argued that this belief might have influenced or motivated some elements of the responses made by front line officers overall, the response by police constables to Scenario 1 appears to reflect their general consensus of the importance of their role in the investigation of crime and the arrest of perpetrators as opposed to the focus on its victims.

Scenario 1): Attempted Break in /Potential Burglary.

The responses of Police Managers

All six sample members of the group representing Senior Ranks (Police Managers), were given details of and responded to the following scenario (Scenario 1).

The Question

I gave a member of the public the following scenario:

You are at home alone one evening and you hear a noise as though someone is trying to break in to your home - You put on the main lights and the noise stops but on investigation you find that someone has tried to force entry to your back door. I then asked them under this situation

a) Should the public contact the police?

b) If your Officers were called out under these circumstances what would they do?

All police manager respondents believed that in response to the first question associated with this scenario that the public should contact the police (question a), as this was a potential crime in progress and members of the public should tell the police about their concerns.

Whilst there was an agreement that all officers sent to this incident should attend there were a number of different responses to question b), which were, as part of the analysis, mapped onto the schematic and subsequently compared with the 'control' and other respondent groups.

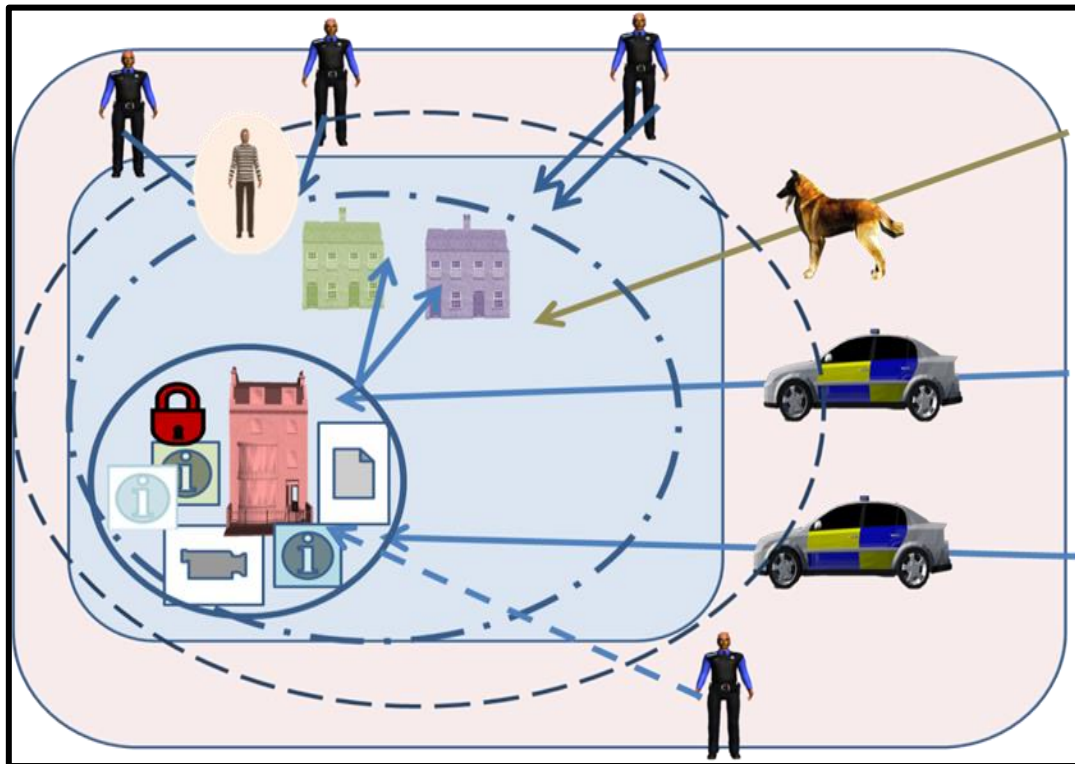
Whilst the question suggests that a crime might be underway it was deliberately vague in order to encourage the group to explore a number of potential responses. As formerly noted, the NOS/Control template identifies the following actions as an appropriate response to this incident:

- To attend
- To contact control for additional information (if required)
- To visit at a pre-arranged time
- To check vulnerability of victim/property and give necessary advice; after which officers may resume normal duties.

All six managers questioned, stated that this was a crime in progress to which they would expect to be called out to investigate by the public. The

scenario was consequently interpreted as a grade 1 or emergency call which they expected their officers to attend immediately; taking between five and fifteen minutes (maximum) to arrive at the caller's location. In a similar response to those formerly identified by front line officers the role of the call handler was not fully appreciated by senior managers as the consolidation map suggests.

Figure 8.17: Consolidated Response- Police Managers Scenario 1



When the data from the maps was consolidated, there were a number of differences identified between the expectations of the managers of their staff's actions.

Such opinions reflected the themes of;

- General police procedure;
- Victim 'support' (respondents focussed only on the security of property which is represented by the padlock image);
- The investigation and arrest of a suspect (identified by the offender icon); Crime reduction advice (represented by the information or 'I' icon) and finally
- Police conduct.

There additionally appeared to be a variety of views expressed by the group about the amount of resources which might be necessary to support the

incident. Amongst those which aligned with other groups were the use of police emergency response vehicles, the deployment of police dogs and the digital use (as evidence), of CCTV images. Whilst these are represented symbolically within the map and are similar, at a basic level, to contributions from other groups they do contrast with some of the more dynamic representations of problem resolution which are represented by the other police groups. It should be noted that the general perception by this group of respondents was of a police focus on the resolution of the incident rather than the provision of victim support services.

Four managers noted the need to approach the *potential* crime scene silently, and undertake house to house visits, to gain additional information, whilst three identified the necessity to preserve the crime scene to protect forensic evidence. It should be noted that a request for SOCO's to attend the scene was not expressed by any of the respondents. The need to take statements and/or make crime reports about the incident was noted by two managers who additionally highlighted the need for officers to provide *crime prevention* advice to victims.

The general demeanour and conduct of officers in attendance was emphasised in different ways by the manager respondents, who stated that officers should be *professional and polite*, leave their contact details and provide the public with reassurance. The possible support to victims by other agencies, in particular, victim support was not noted by this group of respondents.

One manager noted that PCSOs should not be involved in a scenario such as the one represented in Scenario 1. The other managers did not discuss the use of PCSOs at all.

Scenario 1: the Public Response

All twenty of the research subjects comprising the public sample responded to the following question and confirmed that in this scenario they would call the police as they felt that there was a potential crime in progress within the description:

The Question

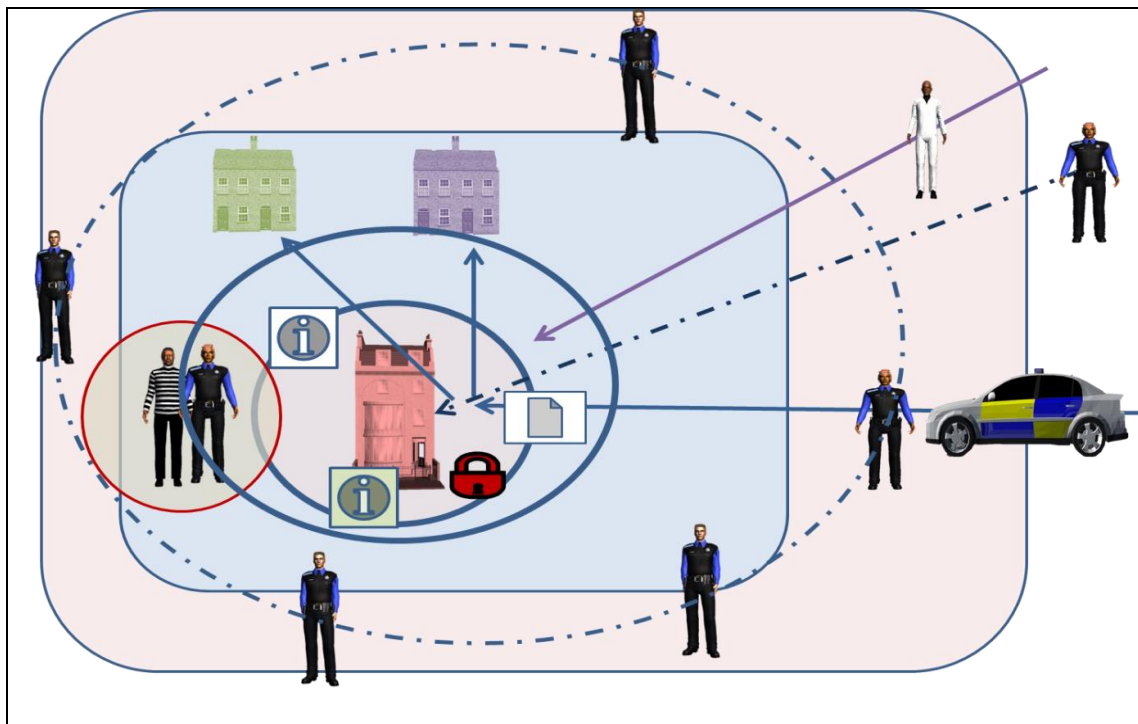
You are at home alone one evening and you hear a noise as though someone is trying to break in to your home - You put on the main lights and the noise stops but on investigation you find that someone has tried to force entry to your back door.

Under this situation

- a) Would you contact the police?*
- b) What would expect them to do?*

Like the maps reviewed previously, the consolidation map of public responses to this scenario suggests that in order to meet public expectations a number of additional processes may be required.

Figure 8.19: Consolidated Response Public Sample Scenario 1



In addition to an overall expectation by the public that the police would attend (or at the very least make contact), there was a general consensus within the sample expectations, of a police response to the attempted burglary which ranged from contact within twenty four hours²⁶ to an immediate response²⁷ (expected by five subjects).

Rather surprisingly the language used by the public in their response to this scenario suggested that the majority of the public sample appeared overall to expect less than the management sample of the police appeared to want to provide in relation to police resources.

The main focus of the public response was that the police would provide them with a sense of security²⁸ (seven respondents) and or safety (six respondents). This might be achieved by giving advice²⁹, checking the area³⁰ (nine respondents) undertaking door to door enquiries³¹ (two respondents), checking the security of the home address of the caller and contacting them later to ensure that they were safe ³²(three respondents).

There appeared to be an expectation that there would be a visible police presence³³ to deter future occurrences of this event and that the police would investigate (four respondents), ask questions and gain the fingerprints of the offender at the crime scene (two respondents).

To ensure the arrest of the offender³⁴, (which was noted by one respondent), the police would call in the Scenes of Crime Officer to gain further clues at the property³⁵ (three respondents).

Differences can be seen between the Control/NOS template and consolidated public response when this is overlaid on to the map of the process.

²⁶ This is represented by the police officer icon which is associated with the dash dot blue lines which indicates a delayed action.

²⁷ This is represented by the police officer and police vehicle icons which are next to an unbroken blue line.

²⁸ Indicated by the padlock icon

²⁹ Indicated by the 'I' for information icon

³⁰ Indicated by the unbroken blue circles surrounding the property

³¹ Indicated by the green and purple property icons

³² Associated with footnote 7

³³ This is represented by the police icons and dot dash patrol lines which surround the community

³⁴ The arrest is identified by the police and offender cons surrounded by the red circle- this also represents a secondary centre of attraction.

³⁵ This is highlighted by the SOCCO icon and an immediate response indicated by the unbroken purple line.

It should be acknowledged however that whilst there are differences, the main ethos engendered by the template i.e. to ensure public safety is still paramount.

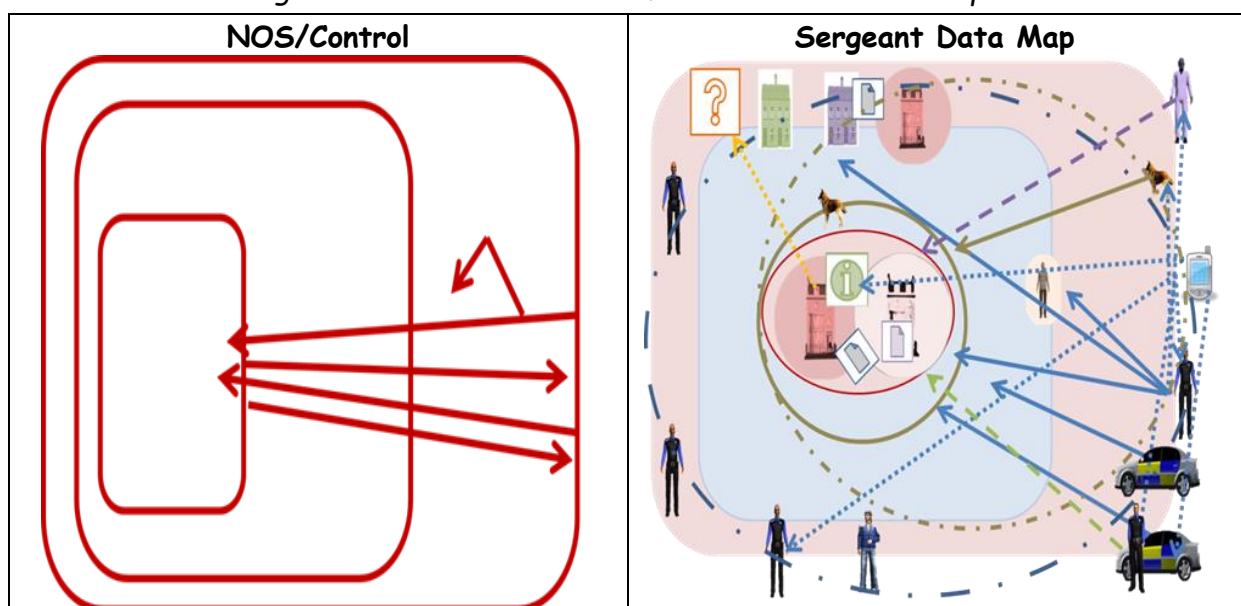
The need by government to reflect public or community expectations in the work of the police within the local community is an important issue. One would expect therefore that there would be a close fit between public and government requirements as reflected within the control and public maps. This 'fit' should be of additional importance to the police groups.

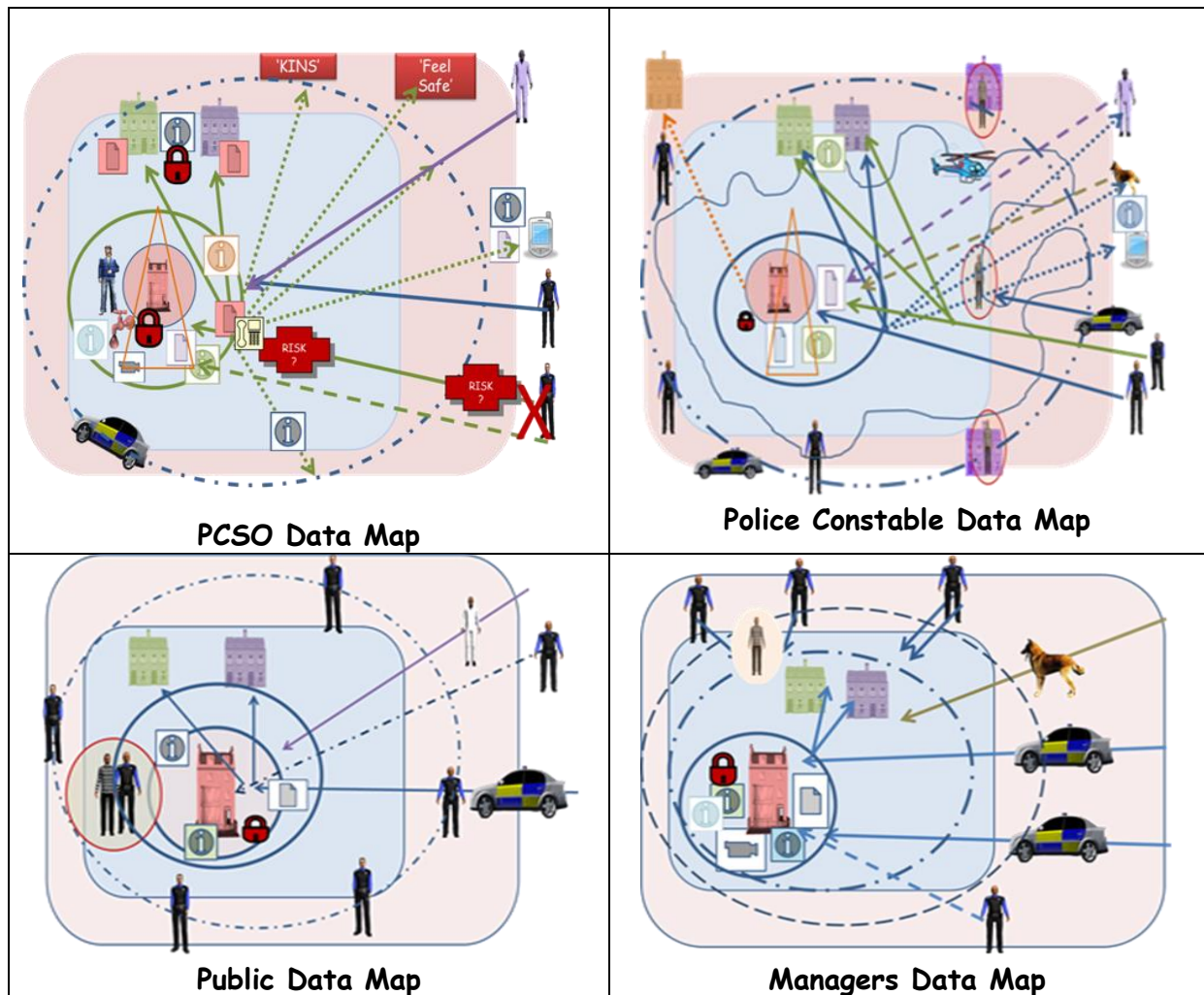
The visual analysis of all group maps

Once all of the consolidated maps had been plotted on to the schematic, the maps were visually compared. In total fifty-two subjects across the study groups responded to this question.

As can be seen within the following *visual* table, the illustrative maps of the Public and Police sample indicate that there are some similarities between them and the NOS/Control template. These similarities generally reflect a basic response after the report of the incident. The maps also highlight a number of significant differences and additional behaviours which might, in more traditional research processes, be hidden. The visual mapping process thus provides opportunities for the researcher to see areas in which there might be outliers indicative of unexpected responses to more complex events.

Figure 8.20: Consolidation of all data Scenario 1 Maps





Overall the maps identify that all police actors within this scenario will be subjected to an attractant or influence (associated with the report of the potential offence) which draws them towards the centre of the incident, as represented by the pink property icon, and will subsequently attend the incident.

The speed in which attendance occurs is affected by a number of issues which, were highlighted by front line police responders generally, as being linked to the initial report by the public and its interpretation by the call handler. The public and manager groups did not reflect or acknowledge the work of the call handler in this or any other way within the scenario.

Victim support as a more specific focus for consideration within the scenario was not reflected in a way which might have been expected by the researcher as it was anticipated that the charity 'Victim Support' would have been mentioned as a key support agency and it was not.

The following themes became apparent in the consolidation process associated with Scenario 1

- All respondents noted the need to attend to the physical aftermath of the incident.
- Overall, the majority of PCSO ranks interviewed acknowledged their role as part of the support mechanisms of policing and appeared aware of both the administrative recording procedures and the partnership working procedures which might be accessed to support victims of crime.
- Personal safety and subsequently the need to risk assess the situation was an issue highlighted by PCSOs, as this is not an offence that they would necessarily attend
- The PCSO responders provided a number of alternatives to facilitate practical and emotional support for the victims of this offence singularly acknowledging the requirement of the Victims Code of Practice.
- PCSOs tended to focus on individual security and the need to provide public reassurance.
- Both PCSO and police manager respondents assumed that the potential victim would be female.
- Whilst not reflecting more obvious security requirements for victims other than the provision of advice, sergeant groups did identify the need to provide emotional support to victims in a non-specified way.
- Police constables principally lacked focus on victim support apart from the consideration of immediate security issues and the provision of advice about crime reduction. The need to investigate the possible offence was more dramatically interpreted as they highlighted the need for search dogs and helicopters and the utilisation of other technologies such as forensic science as part of the investigation response to the scenario.
- Police managers and public respondents both highlighted the need for advice/information/ reassurance and support with security.
- The public noted the need to be supported, if, in fact, on investigation there had not been an attempt. They did not wish to feel foolish or that they had wasted police time if they have reported an offence in error. Police managers similarly advised that officers should be mindful of this concern.
- Unusually only the sergeant and PCSO ranks discussed the partnership of the PCSO and police constable in attending to this incident. Police managers either did not highlight the potential deployment of PCSOs or stated that they should not attend. Members of the public did not note the role of the PCSO.

- The possible history of offending in the area was highlighted as having a potential significance to the actions reflected within scenario by one PCSO and police constable respondent.
- Stops and checks - stops and searches and the targeting of known offenders was advocated by police managers constables and sergeants. The community impact of these actions was not considered.

Section 5: Conclusion

The research question upon which this thesis was based was as follows:

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?

The aim of the study through this question was to consider modern community policing responses by researching the management, administration and development of the role of the PCSO.

Key Conclusions

There is an assumption that policing can be organised as a quasi-military structure because of the dedicated hierarchical systems which locally and globally control police responses to community based problems (Reiner 2010). This leads to the expectation that they will behave in a prescribed way. In the community however front line officers have to respond to a variety of unpredictable situations, the responses to which cannot be clearly pre-defined or controlled (Thesis Chapter 2 section 2.21).

The literature review recognised that historically, policing had to reflect a transforming community which meant that it evolved as the character and constituent of the community changed. Over time the nature of the police /community relationship evolved from a partnership to one where police are more clearly and formally in control (Thesis Chapter 2 sections 2.1- 2.21). Such changes have been driven over recent decades by various governments who have for a variety of reasons attempted greater control of community based policing processes by means of the adoption of policies of managerialism, performance based policing and more recently the adoption of National Occupational Standards or (NOS) (Thesis Chapter 2 section 2.18; 2.19).

The research processes visually reflected and subsequently confirmed the tensions between the expectations of the Home Office as reflected by the 'control', provided by the NOS requirement, police managers and front line officers themselves. The expectations of the community of police actions also appeared to be generally out of kilter with perceived responses as there appeared to be the need for a reduced level of support in some of the

scenarios³⁶ and a more immediate resolution to difficulties than might be possible in others³⁷ (Thesis Chapter 8).

The research enabled the researcher to gain a better understanding of the complexity of decision making for front line officers within the police service, which contrasted with organisational expectations as identified by police managers and the views of the Home Office.

Resulting themes

Understanding the role of the PCSO

Several years after the introduction of the role of Police Community Support Officer there still appeared to be some confusion about how the role might be used in front line policing. This was reflected in this research in the responses of the police managers, and, to lesser extent police sergeants, who tended not to automatically associate the potential action of a PCSO to support other front line officers. More importantly, the scenarios within the questionnaire which reflected minor incidents, such as those associated with ASB, a core task of the PCSO, were not generally identified by managers to be their particular responsibility. Other front line officers generally appreciated the requirement of the role of PCSO but saw their community based role as secondary to the more authoritative role of policing. This appeared to generally reflect the results of an evaluation by Sutherland (2014) and a review by the NPIA (2008). Former PCSOs who had subsequently become police officers tended to have a greater appreciation of the requirement of the role than their peers. The public sample did not make any distinction between responses by PCSOs or Police Constables to their calls as they did not appear to fully appreciate the role and policing powers of PCSOs. There was however a general notion expressed by the public sample that a police constable would possibly be more able to resolve their concerns if called upon so to do. PCSO respondents expressed their concerns about the role of the call handler whom they felt did not fully appreciate their role and as a result tended to involve them in incidents to which their role was unsuited.

The PCSOs appeared to comprehend their role within the community but were willing to act as substitutes for the police when circumstances demanded.

³⁶ Scenario 3 for example

³⁷ This was manifest in the resolution of ASB in particular

They were appreciative of the risks involved in doing this and seemed to understand the necessary actions which might need to be undertaken to support the public in most of the scenarios outlined within the research. They noted that caring for members of the community, in particular victims of crime, was a priority and, in order to meet this responsibility, they appeared to be amongst the more innovative of respondents in their explanations of possible routes to victim support. These ranged from the more physical to psychological support avenues with officers highlighting the opportunities to board up and secure dwellings if required, to liaising with organisations which might provide a more long term solution to care, such as victims groups. Such responses were in some situations significantly different to those prescribed by the NOS or expected by managers. PCSOs additionally recognised their role as key to supporting police officers in crime investigations by linking with community groups or KINS³⁸ for intelligence about community based offenders and gathering or securing physical evidence as well as distributing crime related information to local communities.

The Impact of Complex Systems and Wicked Problems

The mapping process indicated that the closer an individual was to an incident the greater likelihood there would be that they would apply discretion to resolve wicked³⁹ problems, which might in turn result in unanticipated behaviours.

Surrounding each incident, which this research places at the heart of a basin of attraction, are a number of circles of influence which, like ripples in a pool, also have an impact on an individual's response. As Chapter 5 of the thesis highlights these invisible attractants may subtly influence an individual's response to an incident as they feature experiential, cultural/political and geographical/locational lures in addition to the less obvious but potentially negative stimuli of shadow systems.

In mapping, as an exemplar, the work of Bichard (2004), undertaken in the wake of the Soham murders, the thesis additionally identifies the impact of *transcritical bifurcation* whereby old and new working practices may destabilise and consequently taint the smooth introduction and adoption of policy intended to correct flaws in the system. This concept becomes noticeable in the perceptions of research participants who might ignore the role of PCSO to

³⁸ Key Information Networks

³⁹ As defined by Rittel and Webber 1973, p.155

respond to low level community problems, preferring instead to associate responses to minor offences, which fall in the remit of the PCSO, with the role of the police officer. In contrast, the research additionally identifies that call handlers might also misalign the level of responsibility of a PCSO by dispatching them to jobs totally unsuited to their policing powers. Responses by PCSO respondents indicate that this system error is commonplace.

As might have been anticipated, the focus of police constables within this research appeared to be on the investigation of the specific crime within the scenarios, in some cases to the detriment of victim support, whilst the role of PCSOs, in balance, seemed to concentrate on a more victim focussed service. Unexpectedly however was the identification of gender as an influence on the perceptions of officers within the research. Where a gender neutral scenario was presented there was a tendency for all officer ranks to use gender specific language in describing their responses to the incidents mainly referring to victims as 'she' or 'her'.

Whilst it might be argued that some of the responses to the scenarios from front line officers might be a little unrealistic, particularly at a time of economic stringency, these officers responded to the questions by considering all of the perceived alternatives available to them to resolve the problem under discussion. For the front facing lower ranking officers, the need to resolve a problem reveals a smorgasbord of options, whereas at senior manager level these opportunities appear to be reduced, possibly as a result of concerns about the cost implications.

By more completely appreciating and adopting a non-linear response to community based problems front line officers can produce a result that more relevantly meets the needs of the community and the requirements of the Criminal Justice System⁴⁰. This appears contradictory to the expectations of the Home Office, as represented in the NOS, and the expectations of line managers. It additionally provides, for the sample of the public involved in this research, a picture of an unexpectedly enhanced service in some of the research scenarios (Scenarios 1,3,4,5 and 6) without necessarily meeting their core expectation that where a serious offence has occurred a suspect would be arrested, highlighting the complexity of being able to respond to public expectations.

⁴⁰ To maintain law and order and preserve the peace.

Addressing complexity is difficult for policing but an awareness of its impact may lead to the implementation of different approaches to ensure that the policy which is intended for positive change is relevantly adopted.

The employment of a research method which has incorporated tools taken from complexity has enabled a number of wicked outliers to be identified which make, potentially, a significant impact upon the results of community police endeavour. The principal outlier/ attractant identified by the research is the behaviours of the call handler role, an almost invisible function in police responses to community problems. Throughout the research, the call handler appeared to have a significant, but invisible influence on the behaviours of officers attending the described incidents. It was recognised that their role, as the usual link to an incident, provided actors with the description or interpretation of the event about which subsequent decisions or behaviours might then be initially based, influencing the management and resolution of each incident and subsequent choice of who might be sent to attend as a police response⁴¹. These actions might occasionally serve to add an additional layer of uncertainty to the resolution of difficult problems.

Developments in Theory

As a result of the literature and methods review associated with this thesis the author has developed a hybridised version of the tools used within complexity theory in the physical and social sciences to enable an analytical process to be undertaken in the visual representation and analysis of research data. The development of this process is described and discussed in some detail in Chapter's 5, 6 and 7 of the thesis, and its application as a methodological tool is presented in Chapter 8. This approach has made accessible what has been formerly perceived by some to be a complicated theoretical construct and will enable use of this theoretical approach by other potential researchers. This work additionally demonstrates that the simple tools developed by the author to view complexity might be applied across a range of subject areas to facilitate the understanding of challenging problems.

The researcher has additionally identified and consequently made visible the contribution that lines of communication and the impact of time and

⁴¹ This role reflects the potential impact of one of a number of shadow systems which can bias and impact on police process.

geographical space makes to theory associated with complexity and non-linear systems. This can be seen within the mapping of each of the research scenarios.

The Implications for Police Practice

The research indicates the need for a re-connection between managers and front line staff, a greater understanding about the role of the PCSO and a need to generate a more dynamic flow of information and activity to ensure greater understanding of policing 'bottom up' as opposed to top down. This will result in more realistic operational processes and achieve the development of better informed local strategy and decision making.

The police work most of the time with competing objectives which results in some of the inconsistencies noted in the police responses within the research. What is seen as a priority to one group may not be reflected in the perceptions of another.

This concept is manifest in the police use of stop -searches for drugs. In such circumstances the intended positive output, for example, to cut down levels of possession and consumption of illegal drugs or to identify and to prevent additional offences associated with this crime from occurring is overwhelmed by the negative impact on the groups targeted. The role of complexity and the influences of invisible systems on both the officers involved and their target group of potential offenders has a detrimental effect which reinforces old cultural stereotypes and prejudices on both sides.

The influence of these systems can be seen throughout this research. The statement made by one of the police managers, for example, when discussing the robbery scenario that the victim might possibly be an offender and be part of a drug based offence is indicative of an influence which in practice would surely result in re-victimisation and distrust in those tasked to protect and support.

It would be helpful for police to acknowledge and accept the influence of policing processes which embrace an understanding of non-linear or complex systems. This would both enhance their understanding of the community and of their ability to function and respond to wicked problems in a more relevant way.

The research found that the public relies upon the police to manage and respect their fear of crime as opposed to just investigating it- Police responses to the support of communities who are victims of crime should be guided by this

understanding. This was reflected in particular by public responses associated with the potential burglary scenario (Scenario 1).

There is a need for greater public education and awareness about the role of the police and the responsibilities of other public facing agencies and the police's ability to process some of the more complex human problems found within community policing. This has training implications for police personnel in particular the call handler role.

The author's review of the research literature found that the role of PCSO at its best successfully filled a gap between the local community and the police but that the role was already changing as it was increasingly being used as a pre recruitment tool for the police service rather than a job where ordinary people wanted and could make a difference to their communities⁴². Sadly this might mean in time that the recruitment of the wide diversity of applicants interested in becoming a PCSO, which formerly made such a difference to the type of individual involved in police community engagement, might be seen as secondary to the recruitment of young, fit potential police officers.

Her research additionally found that PCSOs were a valuable police resource as they understood their role within policing and appreciated their responsibility towards local communities. Even some time after their introduction, however, their role was still not fully appreciated by their peers or members of the public, which made their job at times difficult. The author felt that it was disappointing that a role which had seemed to have such promise and which might have made such a difference to policing the community appeared to continue to be misunderstood and misused.

Whilst PCSOs continue to apparently be used for policing tasks for which their original role was not designed, there still remains a question around responses to the community based need which initiated their original creation and which may not be currently being met. The impact of this absence may have implications to the support of some of the most vulnerable members of local communities and at its worst may lead to missed opportunities to build trust and consequently gather intelligence about local problems associated with radical political and religious zeal.

The author's experiences have also taught her that whilst an appreciation of complex issues will assist organisational strength and diversity in understanding

⁴² This is discussed in Chapter 3 of the Thesis

and resolving community based problems, community facing organisations such as the police are influenced by so many internal factors and external measures and requirements that it would be difficult for them to adopt alternative patterns of behaviour which might lead to organisational change. Nevertheless there are learning opportunities provided by the potential for engagement with the College of Policing which is attempting to encourage officers of all policing ranks to become *research aware* in their practice. This is reflected in the growing interest in complexity by researchers and practitioners from a variety of areas within public facing organisations in particular social work and criminal justice⁴³.

This research has developed modes of analysis that can be usefully applied to public facing services and, whilst critical points of organisational tension or procedure may not be identified by some traditional research methods, they are clearly distinguished by this hybrid approach. The research tools have already been successfully applied to serious case reviews⁴⁴ but might be utilised more specifically to identify areas- post publication- which are still vulnerable to unpredictable responses in order to more clearly define and support changes to existing working practice, particularly where there is an impact across multi - agency organisations.

This approach may additionally enable greater clarity when implementing new working practices as the result of changes in policy.

What further research might be instigated as a result of this work?

Further research is urgently needed to review the impact of complex or non-linear systems within the criminal justice system as it potentially has a much broader impact on policing process than those reviewed within this research. In the thesis the author made recommendations for the greater integration of public services in order to combat the negative elements highlighted by the research overall. This was reflected by the influences of shadow systems which were seen to have the potential to undermine process. As a personal plan the author would like to apply her understanding of complex systems to the work of multi-agency organisations and review the application of an understanding of complexity to subsequent working practice, looking at the areas of possible integration to provide a better service to communities. This would involve

⁴³ See as an example work by Pycroft and Bartollas (2014)

⁴⁴ The process can identify bifurcated points where things have gone wrong but also where an alternative approach would have changed the outcome.

working with Social Services, NHS services and other organisations within the Criminal Justice System such as the National Offender Management Service.

She has already been contacted by other researchers who are keen to apply her research tools to research in criminal intelligence networks and homicide investigation.

The author would also consider seeking a Fulbright Scholarship in order to continue her research overseas to review other policing systems through the lens of complexity to make possible comparisons and to learn best practice in order that it might be integrated in future strategic procedures.

Section 6: Reflexive Account

On pages 257-258 section 7.4 Chapter 7 of the Thesis the author wrote the following:

'Whilst realist research might result in a 'family of answers' more appropriately reflecting different contexts and participants, there still remained a concern. As Sobh and Perry highlight, akin to the core of research is an acknowledgement of the three elements of a research paradigm in which research is undertaken. Guba and Lincoln (1994) identify these as methodology, ontology and epistemology.

In relation to ontology and epistemology, the reality of the research area and the researcher's association with that reality, there was a problem. As the author has had an association with the police service for a number of years she continues to hold a number of preconceived ideas and prejudices which might easily cloud the manner in which research might be undertaken and any results which may be extrapolated (Major and Savin-Baden 2010, p.79-84).

As a former serving police officer, the wife of a retired police royalty protection police officer and mother of two front line police officers and, someone who has researched and taught police officers and members of the wider police family for several years, the author is also mindful of Malterud's (2001, pp.483-4) note of the importance of reflexivity in research as he suggests,

'A researchers' background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate and the framing and communication of conclusions'. '

What is reflexivity?

Being reflexive within research requires that an author will ensure openness and be totally honest about why the decisions which guide and characterise research might be made throughout the research process. Whilst this thesis is not based on a research instrument that focuses on reflexivity it does nevertheless adhere to the principles of a reflexive approach, continues to be enthusiastic about the innovation of method and the interpretation of results, discovered by the work, and certainly does not take reality for granted.

Reflexive research, such as that advocated by Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009), notes a sustained enthusiasm for the subject matter whilst never taking reality for granted. Varela, Thompson and Rosch (1991), make comment upon the autopoietic nature of 'knowers' and 'observers' noting the associations between their lived history and the environment in which their interactions are encouraged as part of a complex system of learning.

The author

Prior to the commencement of the research the author was working as academic programme developer and programme lead to two new teaching programmes which focussed upon the practice based and academic needs and development of police personnel, police constables and police community support officers (PCSOs). As a former police constable herself and a member of a 'police family', it was fascinating to be involved in the professional development of police personnel as it was seen as an opportunity to influence working practice as well as providing newly attested officers with an opportunity to gain a university foundation degree and, for PCSOs UCPD⁴⁵ qualifications.

In spite of an understanding of the learning and professional environment based upon experience- the authors' lived history, the programme development process and teaching was professionally challenging as it meant building a team of academic and police staff who did not feel comfortable working together. This was further reinforced by the perception of the police federation and managers that collaborative working with organisations outside the police service would ultimately lead to a decline in standards.

The academic development work which underpinned the design and development of the teaching framework was built upon research which was formerly undertaken by the author on behalf of the Home Office (Ward and Crisp 2005). This study had quality audited the newly commissioned Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP) but its recommendations had disappointingly been shelved by the government.

As part of this research the author worked with colleagues to interpret the impact of National Occupational Standards or NOS. These statements characterised behaviours expected by the police which could be tested and reflected in practice. As the NOS prescribed a minimum standard of service to

⁴⁵ University Certificate in Professional Development

the community it was reasoned that they would additionally reflect the needs of those communities. Whilst linked to the improvement of practice the introduction of the NOS could also be seen to be a political tool as they were linked to performance targets and an increased government control over the police. This could lead to a psychological detachment from communities and the further reduction of levels of discretion which were historically necessary to maintain good police community relationships.

Soon after the commencement of the teaching programme, graduates of the UCPD in policing (former PCSO students) began to express their professional disquiet anecdotally to the author. They were apparently being required to undertake roles and respond to calls from the public which were not within their occupational remit. These unattested officers were ordinary people who wanted to make a difference to local communities but believed that their role to develop and encourage community contact and to act against anti-social behaviour was not being seen as a priority by managers who saw them as a resource to meet targets in other areas rather than be a conduit for community /police communication.

The author saw this role and its community impact as a suitable topic for research but a number of negative incidents associated with her role as programme developer exerted an inappropriate level of bias towards her topic. The author was consequently advised to *step away* from her experiences by her supervisors and fully engage with the research literature which was associated with community policing. To this end she noticed that the more recently published research and policy around policing appeared to be missing an acknowledgement of some more obvious but invisible factors which appeared to influence the behaviours of front line officers. This included, for example, the influence of officers' previous experiences of the location or their expectations of the community involved in the incident. The author felt that it was important to identify a suitable mode of research that would relevantly reflect these issues.

In order to become sufficiently distant from her opinions of policing the author began her literature review by reading about the developments of early policing processes, and how and why communities needed to introduce them. Policing, according to history, was not about one member of a community taking responsibility for the behaviour of everyone else, but about a community responsibility which might be borrowed for a time by a member or members of that community.

Various influences made a difference to the methods of order and community engagement employed over time, but the community centric role of the PCSO appeared to be much nearer to the description of original policing than their constable colleagues. Early constables would have had to deal with the same sorts of horrible crimes as their modern counterparts; but back then, the community as a whole provided support for the process, and law and punishment was critically more immediate and punitive.

Modern communities can be seen to be different, in both their physical composition and their attitudes, to the historical communities of this primary literature. In contrast to historical communities they appeared ambivalent to the idea of law and order and certainly not as compliant and willing to take responsibility for the resolution of unlawful activities as the early communities appeared to be. It seemed that the modern police persona reflected the more complex attitudes of the communities they served which contrasted with historical community police relationships.

After a discussion with her supervisors about the developments of police processes and the unpredictability of events, the author felt that the principle tenets of Chaos and Complexity theory might offer some explanation. It seemed that context had significant meaning which, whilst it might not directly affect a group associated with a specific incident, might still influence the larger community over geographical, cultural or temporal distances. Further reading guided the author towards the concept of complexity and it was easy to see how complex systems had emerged throughout history which effected community behaviours and, more importantly to the thesis, directed changes within policing processes. The various philosophical interpretations of complexity were found to be more difficult to comprehend, but the author could see that there might be an opportunity to utilise diverse instruments from a number of social and physical science settings which could be developed and would subsequently enable an explanation of the work. As a former business analyst the author had experience of using analytical tools from a number of areas in order to ensure a best fit and most relevant method of interpreting a situation.

As a result of health concerns and their ongoing medical treatment which affected concentration the author found continuation of study difficult. To better cope with this condition the author adapted her teaching style to facilitate the availability of additional information to students in case she forgot to inform them about key issues. Her condition affected her physical behaviour as movement was difficult, as was concentration, as it was only

possible for a limited period as the impact of medication began to diminish and before the pain started again. This new style involved the development of computer based scenarios which developed her skills in visual representation of complex ideas which subsequently led to the development of her analytical methods. A search for new teaching tools which would support the authors health related difficulties also enabled the development of a teaching initiative which utilised avatar actors to deliver key concepts from which students might work through practice based problems.

The literature review also guided the author towards a consideration of visual methods as a reflection and analysis of data. Her supervisors supported her throughout. The combination of visual methods and avatar based icons as visual mapping tools were consequently adapted by the author for use within her research analysis.

The author's position and attitudes whilst undertaking this research have changed a number of times. Personal values as a result of historical and familial links to the subject under investigation, more recent professional experiences of the subjects under discussion and most importantly the literature that grounded and guided her work have all influenced and provided a foundation from which the research was subsequently developed. The methods used for the research were chosen as the best fit for the purpose both on a professional but also a personal level as they enabled the authors continued participation in research when health concerns might have made a difference. Professional work but also personal health has obviously shaped the way that this research has subsequently evolved. The choice of a visual method has enabled the author to become further critically detached from the content of the research as with visual mapping procedures used there was nowhere that any data might be hidden. The results are physically therefore clear for anyone to see.

When the author began the research, which was limited initially to the development of the PCSO, she had no idea that her research interests would develop in the way they subsequently did. Whilst undertaking this research journey the author has learned not to underestimate the worth of good community policing processes as they can contribute to the reduction of the fear of crime within the community. She has also learned that the complexity of life in modern communities may lead to the undervaluing this important component of community wellbeing and the misperceptions of policing behaviours.

As a researcher she has learned to innovate in order to adopt the most relevant, fit for purpose methods, consequently developing a hybrid approach to her investigation based on techniques from both the social and physical sciences in an attempt to visually reflect the complex decisions that are made in order to police modern communities. The authors original perception that the role of the PCSO might provide an indicator of the state of community policing subtly changed as the research question became clearer.

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?

This research has enabled the author to appreciate the potential role that a PCSO might play in supporting community needs and acting as a conduit for community concerns in order to initiate police action. Disappointingly however the author's review of the research literature found that whilst the role at its best successfully filled a gap between the local community and the police, it already appeared to be philosophically moving away from community support to enforcement as it was seen by police managers as a preparation tool for recruitment and selection as police constables.

Whilst the PCSOs who were interviewed for this research were undoubtedly a valuable community resource their role was still not fully appreciated by their peers or members of the public.

The area which the author found most significantly influenced the daily perceived actions of those individuals involved within the research was the impact of complex systems. Not only can the influence of complexity create a mismatch between perception and reality around even the most apparently straightforward policing processes but it can also devastate systems where multi agency cooperation is the only way to fully support community needs.

The challenges of more completely understanding the impact that wicked problems have on communities have traditionally been difficult to comprehend. The author's development and adoption of a hybrid visual process may go some way towards providing an accessible and measurable method of understanding the impact of systems that, whilst they remain invisible, influence and critically motivate the behaviours of police personnel working within local communities.

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Perceptions of Policing:

An Investigation into Modern Community Policing Responses through the Management, Administration & Development of the Police Community Support Officer in Leicester

Annette Crisp

PhD

2015

The author's Father Eric Haynes photographed wearing his father's Police helmet.
The author's Grandfather Bert Haynes was a serving officer in
The Greater Manchester Police, after WWI



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Abstract

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Keywords: Police; PCSO; Complex systems; Community Engagement; Management; Visual research methods

This thesis provides an examination of the historical development and changing management of community policing by reflecting the impact of complexity on the work and role of modern police process, as particularly exhibited in the function and role of the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO). The research, which is central to the review, combines the perceptions of front line police ranks, police managers and members of the public to consider whether their expectations of community policing are the same.

Subject responses to scenario based questions associated with common incidents to which the police might respond, were visually mapped and subsequently compared. The resulting maps indicate that there are, in some cases, significant differences between actions and expectations of the three study groups. This highlights the impact and influence of complex systems on police process, evidencing the need to apply and be aware of alternative methods to resolve complex problems in the community.

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To my Mother and Late father- Thank you

To my HusbandThis has not been a hobby!

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And for the initial inspiration to undertake academic work to my Access College tutor.... Thank you Carol.

This work is dedicated to my Sons Alex and David- who represent what may be the future of policing.

Declarations

I declare that the work described in this thesis is original work undertaken by me between January 2009 and November 2015 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Division of Community and Criminal Justice in the Faculty of Health and Life Sciences, De Montfort University, United Kingdom. Apart from the stated degree, no other academic degree or award was applied for based on this work.

Annette Crisp

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Do the Police do a *Good Job*?

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Glossary

ACC	Assistant Chief Constable
ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers- now National Police Chiefs Council (NPCC)
APACS	Assessments of Policing and Community Safety
ASB	Anti-Social Behaviour
ASBO	Anti-Social Behaviour Order
BAWP	British Association of Women Police
BCS	British Crime Survey
BCU	Basic Command Unit
BPA	Black Police Association
BVPI	Best Value Performance Indicator
BVR	Best Value Review
CBO	Community Beat Officer
CDRP	Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership (now Community Safety Partnership (CSP))
CENTREX	Central Police Training and Development Authority
CID	Crime Investigation Department
CJA	Criminal Justice Act
CJC	Criminal Justice Centre
CJD	Criminal Justice Department
CJPOA	Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994
COG	Chief Officer Group
CPP	Community Policing and Partnerships
CPOSA	Chief Police Officers Staff Association
CRA	Compulsory Retirement Age

CRB	Criminal Records Bureau
CRASBO	Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour Order (on conviction)
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
CST	Community Safety Team
DC	Detective Constable
DCC	Deputy Chief Constable
DPA	Disabled Police Association
DCI	Detective Chief Inspector
DV	Domestic Violence
EO	Equal Opportunities
FCR	Force Control Room
FEO	Firearms Enquiry Officer
FHD	Force Help-Desk
FHQ	Force Headquarters
FI	Forensic Investigations
FOI	Freedom of Information
FPIP	Force Performance Improvement Plan
FPP	Force Policy and Procedure
FPR	Focus Performance Review
HMCE	Her Majesty's Customs and Excise
HMCI	Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
HMCPSP	Her Majesty's Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate
HMCS	Her Majesty's Court Service
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabularies
HMICA	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Court Administration
HMIP	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation OR Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons
HMP	Her Majesty's Prison
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
HO	Home Office

HOC	Home Office Circular
IPCC	Independent Police Complaints Commission
IPLDP	Initial Police Learning and Development Programme
IT	Information Technology
ITIL	Information Technology Infrastructure Library
ITV	Independent Television
Insp	Inspector
KIN	Key Individual Networks (Neighbourhood Policing)
LPIF	Local Performance Improvement Framework
LPP	Local Policing Plan
MET	The Metropolitan Police
MISPER	Missing Person
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHS	National Health Service
NIM	National Intelligence Model
NOMS	National Offender Management Service
Nominal	A known Offender
NOS	National Occupational Standards
NPIA	National Policing Improvement Agency
NPM	New Public Management
OFCOM	The Office of Communications
PA	Police Authority
PAC's	Police Action Checklists
PC	Police Constable
PCC	Police Crime Commissioner
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
PMF	Performance Management Framework
PMS	Police Management System
POP	Problem-Oriented Policing
POLKA	Police Online Knowledge Area

RIPA	Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act
RJ	Restorative Justice
RTC	Road Traffic Collision
Sgt	Sergeant
SOCO	Scenes of Crime Officer - now Forensic Investigator

Chapter 1

The 'problem' with policing

- '1. Out of clutter, find simplicity.*
 - 2. From discord, find harmony.*
 - 3. In the middle of difficulty lies harmony.'*
- Albert Einstein (his three rules of work)*
-

THIS THESIS provides an explanation of the development and management of community policing by uniquely reviewing chronological, contemporaneous and academic accounts and visually analysing research which examines the impact of complexity on the work and role of modern community policing process; as particularly demonstrated by the function and role of the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO). To do this, the research question considered modern community policing responses by researching the management, administration and development of the role of the PCSO⁴⁶. In order to explore this response the research focussed on gaining answers to the question;

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?

⁴⁶ This post was introduced as part of Police Reform initiatives in 2002 to provide a conduit between the needs of the public, (the community), and community policing process particularly in relation to quality of life associated crime such as anti-social behaviour (ASB).

1.1 Introduction -Context

The lives of most members of British society will be spent with little real thought or consideration about the purpose, role and duties of the police; unless they happen to enjoy some of the popular media associated with crime and justice. This general disinterest, which borders on apathy, can be evidenced by the low turnout (15.1% in England and Wales) for the elections for Police Crime Commissioners in November 2012.

For the public, an interest in policing issues understandably changes if they, or any of their contacts, become involved with, or fall victim to crime, when, under such circumstances, societal expectations of a police officer appears simple;

In order to help us- Be there when we need you.

Whilst modern media accounts suggest a detachment from the community and a generally lacklustre performance of modern police responses to community ills, history indicates that the approach of public *non-intervention* and *disengagement* in matters of crime and justice is a relatively recent phenomenon which appears to be associated with the development of Peels' new police in 1855. Prior to that period there was a greater expectation that the public would become engaged in crime reduction procedures and, in fact be punished, or held accountable if they failed to do so. As a result, the story of *Community Policing* is as much a story of the evolution and changes within local and national communities

as it is the policing processes associated with the maintenance of order and reduction of crime.

An understanding of the notion of the community is accordingly of particular importance to this work.

In order to better understand the behaviours, perceptions and expectations of the public and members of the police service today, Chapter 2 provides the reader with a review of the literature concerning the changing communities of England and the concurrent development of the structures of law and order from early to more recent history. This serves to provide context to some of the academic explanations and public debates about the role, nature and worth of community policing in a modern society. In doing so, it highlights the evolving geo-social, cultural and political landscape of England from the agrarian to the industrial; additionally revealing some of the sources of cultural and political tension which drive police and community behaviours and engagement within community based policing initiatives today.

The first part of the review considers the historical changes which led to the evolution from community based policing in its purest form, which is the policing of the community by the community, to the more formal versions of community policing; initially by police officers and more recently by a team which includes Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs). This element is more specifically reflected within the research focus of this thesis, which considers an analysis of the public perceptions of modern police duties.

In fact, many of the modern mission statements of the police can still be associated with Sir Robert Peel (1855) and Sir Richard Mayne's (1829) Nine Principles of Policing (Appendix 1.) which hark back to the development of what many view as the first modern police force in England and Wales in 1829. Yet the *Art of Policing*⁴⁷ - if it is in fact an *Art* - appears in more modern times to have lost its essential simplicity.

It is thus argued that the need for the police, to attend when needed, does not have the same connotations today as it did when the concept of policing was initially developed; as modern society expects not only instant access to their police officers, but also that they will maintain a presence in the community which will prevent crime. The term 'Community policing' therefore, not only represents a *fire brigade* or reactive element of the role but additionally one which is expected to resolve societal problems proactively to deter offending.

Research by Hill (2010) and comments by Blair (2005) indicate that the perceptions of both the police and the politician may be at variance with that of the public in their understanding of what policing the community should actually involve.

Reiner (2000) suggests that with the historical development of societal complexity necessarily comes the emergence of more sophisticated legal and enforcement systems. This is further emphasised by Silver (1967) who explains that the changing nature of power, which historically was initially caused by the

⁴⁷ As there appears to be societal associations with war and fighting in relation to crime an association with Sun Tzu's *Art of War* appeared apposite.

industrial revolution in England, created a demand for a more ordered response to crime and the potential threat of a disordered public. Historical reflections of these developments additionally provide an important indicator of the possible reasons why the British experience of policing is arguably different from those in other European countries, where the maintenance of order and crime control has led to a more militaristic approach to public order and crime reduction. Reith (1956, p.140) notes that it represented a philosophy of policing; *'unique in history and throughout the world because it derived not from fear but almost exclusively from public co-operation with the police, induced by them designedly by behaviour which secures and maintains for them the approval, respect and affection of the public'*.

Some of the evidence presented within Chapter 2 suggests however that once a formal policing process was initiated, that elements of public cooperation, which Reith fondly highlights, was deliberately destroyed as political intervention and mal-administration of policing procedures began to transfer the ethos of policing further towards a more forceful arm of national government, as opposed to their role of community servants.

The evolution of the British constitution, an accumulation of laws and precedents, as part of the English legal system, provides a *foundation* for the structure of English society which, at its most basic level, suggests that as a democratic society we agree to abide by the laws which we have supported via our electoral system. Quite simply - if we break the rules we agree to be punished.

This view is supported by Rawls (1996) in his discussions about legitimacy and stability within the social order and is primarily associated with theories associated with the *social contract*.

Chapter 2 continues by evaluating the more recent impact of political control as exemplified by Home Office reform, and the application of academic theory to policing procedures, describing in particular the theory and impact of *New Public Management* (Moore 1995). This influential process has directed governmental emphasis on best value and performance which has historically effected all public facing organisations (Hood 1991). Its aim is to ensure that such organisations are run more like private businesses, and, as a result, a number of deliberate policies have been introduced to control and amend structures and organisational behaviours. These have ultimately redirected policing priorities from community based interest and engagement, subsequently effecting neighbourhood policing and leading to the development of 'civilian' operated policing in the guise of the Police Community Support Officer (PSCO). This role, it is suggested, is paramount to sustaining the new notions of community policing as attested officers continue to be drawn away from community based issues. The role of the civilian within the police service is considered in more detail in Chapter 3.

Woven throughout the review are case studies, diagrams and visual representations of community/police actions, practice and theory, which are intended to provide a more complete picture of the themes under debate.

- Theoretical Framework

Whilst the historical developments associated with community and policing are seen as fundamental to an appreciation of society's current relationship with policing processes, it is the recognition that policing local communities is a complex business that motivates the methods of research and the application of a theoretical framework to this thesis.

As the research reviewed in Chapter 4 indicates, studies into policing generally have adopted a positivist epistemology in order to respond to event, problem and inquiry, and, as this examination further contests, research has consequently generated results which are tailored to respond to a snapshot of a question and are thus potentially limited to one element of a dilemma.

'The positivist paradigm, thus, becomes the police researcher's "psychic prison" where the organisation is ultimately created and sustained by conscious and unconscious process, with members becoming imprisoned in the images, ideas, thoughts and actions to which these processes give rise' (Morgan, 1997, p. 215).

As Vickers (1997) argues, methods of research should be able to synthesise more effectively, the philosophy which drives the research question. She then goes on to further expose the failures of traditional qualitative and statistical methods to more completely reflect organisational experiences.

The meaning of complexity in relation to research in the social sciences is explored in more detail in Chapter 5, where there is a realisation that 'wicked' problems (as explained by Rittel and Webber 1973) such as those commonly

experienced within a policing context, might only be truly revealed and researched by adopting a *wicked* methodology. This frees the researcher from traditional approaches in order to enable them to consider the adoption of a theoretical structure that reflects, according to Byrne (1989) and others, an explanatory theory which is characterised by divergent theoretical traditions and which is characterised by *self-organising, adaptive, co-evolving agents*, incidentally a characteristic of community.

Complexity theory, which provides for the concept of a whole systems framework to investigate research issues, has only recently been adopted within the social sciences although it has been popular for a number of years within the physical sciences (Rose 2014). In the context of this research it enables change to be reflected at an individual (micro), organisational (meso) and whole systems (macro) level as a result of, and in response to, a series of research questions (McDermott 2014).

The application of tools associated with complexity to the underpinning theory and methods of this research have further identified areas where traditional research methods have failed, in that they do not automatically identify the grey or *absent* elements of their studies which are sometimes seen as outliers and unimportant. These areas are unhappily those which in reality may lead in policing to public complaint, or, in the worst occurrences, serious case review, because of unexpected or unacceptable organisational behaviours, misunderstandings or failures. Examples of the application of complex methodologies to review and

research these categories of *incident* have been explored as part of the review of literature.

The novel methods of analysis (explained in more detail in Chapter 7) which has been uniquely employed in this research, is based upon a visual mapping process in order to represent scenario based responses to research questions. This has consequently highlighted differences in expected or perceived behaviours within subject groups in order to highlight areas of concern not formerly recognised. As this method of analysis detects incongruities within research findings, it expedites the prospect of further research to explore organisational and procedural interconnectedness and absence.

Opportunities provided by visual research methods particularly when combined with the principle instruments inherent within a complex frame are discussed in Chapter 6.

The final chapters 7-9 provide a description of the research process and findings which are unique in, that as a result of this study, they consequently reflect an aspect of policing practice, namely community policing, from a four dimensional viewpoint reflecting perceptions of process from the public, front line officers and police managers and additionally exposing the impact of cultural, temporal and spatial influences.

As the conclusion to this work indicates, such research findings not only contribute to our understanding of policing our communities, highlighting areas not

normally visible within academic work, but also provide a template for exploring trans-disciplinary working and the resolution of *wicked* problems that blight - but reflect the reality of practice in the real world.

Chapter 2

Policing the community- Reflecting upon history

'Moral excellence comes about as a result of habit. We become just by doing just acts, temperate by doing temperate acts, brave by doing brave acts'.

Aristotle

2.1 Introduction

- *Understanding the meaning of Community.*

Many of the more complex problems associated with the justice system may be directly associated with the definition and structure of *community*⁴⁸.

Politicians aim (or claim?) to represent the desires of the community in its broadest sense in developing laws to ensure peace and security (Blair 1994⁴⁹); and, those individuals tasked to provide for its safety aim (claim?) to do so in the application and process of law (Blair 2005⁵⁰). *Community* however is a nebulous concept which appears to defy absolute definition. The actions that may be applauded by one part of any community may be denigrated by another or

⁴⁸ This has an association with the constitution of the United Kingdom and the development of common and statute law as well as an association with human rights and international treaties. See as an example Haughwout et al (1996)

⁴⁹ This period saw the introduction of more than 3,000 new criminal offences on the statute books, a rise in violent crime and a reduction in detection rates, causing the political opposition to note that the result was '.....a marked erosion between the Government and the governed' (Clegg 2006 in Johnston 2010).

⁵⁰ Sir Ian Blair (2005) the outgoing Commissioner of the Metropolitan police noted in the 2005 Dimpleby Lecture, that local communities really did not know what they wanted the police to actually do, which made the aim of policing in the application and process of law and the subsequent claims of the maintenance of community safety and security difficult.

begrudgingly accepted by a third. Theorists claim structures which accordingly reflect its nature and scrutinise its composition in an endeavour to justify their application of an epistemological stance in its support. This concept is essentially flawed, because individuals may be members of many diverse communities simultaneously. Gusfield (1975) for example, noted that the term might reflect geography or, in contrast, human relationships without a geographical association; whilst Durkheim (1964) associated the term with activities and competences. More recently Frazer (2000, p. 76) viewed community as a value, with a series of interconnected emotions related to mutual trust, self-help, solidarity and communality.

As classifications of scientific modes of study, sociologists distinguish vistas which reflect communities at macro or micro levels reviewing optimistic or pessimistic aspects of their character, (Putnam 1993, p.2000) whilst criminologists consider the interpretation of ecological, demographical or locational nuances to advocate organised or disorganised aspects of harmony or disintegration (Hughes and Edwards 2011). Geographers, Anthropologists, Mathematicians, Historians and Philosophers, as examples of groups of interest, will all use different analytical frameworks to realise their understanding of the community. Their subsequent views may be objective or subjective and based on research which might utilise all manner of methodology.

In essence, the study of communities is not a simple matter.

An awareness of the construction of what we recognise as a modern community is however fundamental to the understanding of policing, as it represents the foundation of both Peel's Principles of Policing⁵¹ and the evolution of the justice system in England. Both aspects indicate that policing and justice should reflect the character of the community, whatever that may be at the time.

In order to gain an insight into the background of community policing and identify some of the evidence in support of the complex nature of policing, and its management, this chapter will provide a linear historical examination of the development of *community* and its links to the evolution of policing.

Where opportunities arise, the author will also begin to make links to the processes associated with the development of Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) or Complexity.

⁵¹ To be found in Appendix 1b

2.1(a) CAS and the Community

Complex Adaptive Systems are associated with whole systems approaches to understanding life; as opposed to methodologies which aim to research from a reductionist perspective, looking at component parts as opposed to the whole.

As a result of its application in a number of research fields, it is described in the literature in a number of ways. Ahmed et al (2005 p; 1) for example notes that the defined properties of such systems are as follows:

'1) A complex adaptive system consists of inhomogeneous, interacting adaptive agents. (Adaptive means capable of learning).

2) An emergent property of a CAS is a property of the system as a whole which does not exist at the individual elements (agents) level.'

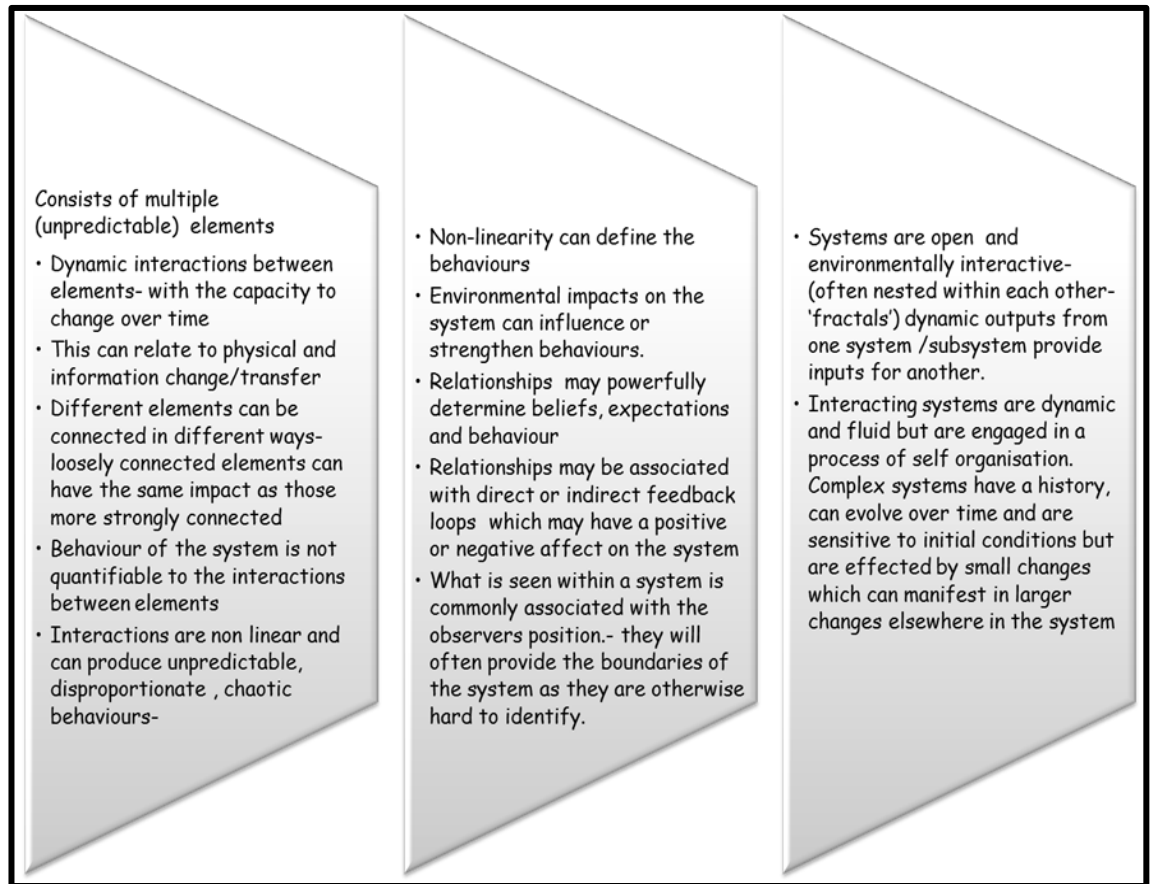
In a more general description, Wilson et al (2001 p 685) notes that a CAS is;

'A collection of individual agents with freedom to act in ways that are not always totally predictable and whose actions are interconnected so that the actions of one part changes the context for other agents'.

In an amalgamation of key elements derived from work by Byrne (1998), Cilliers (1998) and Wilson et al (2001); Pycroft (2014, pp. 23-25) highlights the common elements to be found in complex systems.

Edited highlights/characteristics of these elements are to be found in the following diagram.

Figure 2:1) Characteristics of Complex Adaptive Systems identified by Pycroft (2014)



As the elements identified by Pycroft and others in Figure 2:1 indicate, there are a number of recognisable qualities to be found within complex systems which might be immediately identified within the diverse theoretical perspectives and defining characteristics associated with the study of the community and the development of society. Elements of work by Gusfield (1975) on *community structures*, McMillan and Chavis (1986) on *sense of community* and Ahlbrandt and Cunningham (1979) on *social fabric*, amongst others, appear to reinforce these similarities.

Whilst much of this chapter is concerned with the context, themes and key events upon which communities have developed and engaged with policing processes, the relevance of complexity, upon which the data analysis procedure within this research has been based, looms large.

2.2 Origins of Preserving Community Peace -

The development of the community response

Utilising evidence from anthropology, archaeology and human biology, social and historical scholars note that biological changes to the brain of primitive man over 3,000 years ago may have provided for a more *conscious* appreciation of the self and the human need to associate with others within community networks.

Whilst the origins for such debates begin with the theories and assertions about the notion of self from early Greek philosophers such as Aristotle, more contemporary accounts highlight comparisons with primate groups and assert that the development of early community networks may have been reinforced by a process of social grooming which was based upon, and reinforced by the development of language and communication (Jaynes 1976; Dunbar 1992).⁵² This is in contrast to the work by experimental philosophers who combine psychological explanations of the physical self (James 1890) with the minimal⁵³ and narrative⁵⁴

⁵² A more detailed consideration of this concept is to be found in Appendix (1a)

⁵³ 'Minimal self: Phenomenologically, that is, in terms of how one experiences it, a consciousness of oneself as an immediate subject of experience, un-extended in time.

self (Gallagher 2000). Both perspectives highlight the importance of introspection, language and the ability (or willingness) to interpret communication, as one of a number of indicators which would change the nature of individuals in their transformation towards communities. As the history of community policing unfolds, these elements are continually reiterated as significant.

Initially a much conquered *race*, the ancient Britons, an amalgam of scattered tribes and regional dominions absorbed cultures and standards of behaviours from many of their vanquishers; but continued to lack the more formal development of a constitution observed in other European countries. Early British tribal communities looked instead to the expansion of *pre-existing standards* of behaviour which, whilst usually based upon religious, cultural or practical necessity, had come to pass as a result of common or accepted practice.

2.3 The Development of Community Values

Historically there has always been a need for society to preserve relative order and ensure community *values*. The term *values* has been deliberately selected as representative of the community, as, unlike the term custom, which can appear multidimensional and characteristic of a number of diverse factions,

The minimal self almost certainly depends on brain processes and an ecologically embedded body, but one does not have to know or be aware of this to have an experience that still counts as a self-experience' (Gallagher 2000)

⁵⁴ 'Narrative self: A more or less coherent self (or self-image) that is constituted with a past and a future in the various stories that we and others tell about ourselves'. (Gallagher 2000)

values represent its moral compass. This relationship continues to be significant to contemporary society and its various communities (Dokecki 1983; Hobbs et al 1984). If, as part of its evolution a community commits to becoming a society, then, as a society, it has to take the responsibility of providing a structure in which community fears are minimised (Locke 1689; Hobbes 1651; Rousseau 1762; Rawls 1971).

The definition of a society within this thesis deemed as most relevant to such development is linked, non-traditionally, to aspects of computer programming and is cited within an on line source. This definition additionally holds within it elements which might be associated with *CAS*, previously discussed in Section 2.1(a).

'Society is a system, composed of many parts, which we call members, and which are intelligent systems or societies themselves. Since the basic building block of societies is the intelligent system, it has all the properties of an intelligent system. It may have other properties, since it is composed of many intelligent systems. Its objectives are the common objectives of its members'.

(Fritz 1984)

As a community begins to grow and gain shared or intelligent systems⁵⁵ it is suggested that the seed of a rudimentary society is formed. Such arrangements will undoubtedly be underpinned by local values, custom and practice and as a

⁵⁵ These may be shared practices or knowledge; for example- simple farming techniques.

community evolves be supported by the formal recording of rules⁵⁶ against which the community can not only measure its legitimacy as a structure but also its effective practice. Universally, religion or faith played a significant role in the early development of regulation and order within communities, as, in addition to providing guidance, from the *supreme spiritual external authority*, ritual, and the ability to document, transcribe and interpret the rules was a powerful tool held by those who sought to ensure local cohesion and obedience (Marshall 1933). In parallel with religion was the mandate of the conqueror which reinforced principles and custom from 'alien' sources in an endeavour to change community values and ensure control.

Novak (1982) identifies three influences on an evolving society: *political, economic and moral/ cultural*. He also notes that over time technological advances influence community mechanisms, which is exemplified within the development and reinforcement of policing structures in times of social unrest, as catalysed, for example, by the industrial revolution. Whilst Novak identifies and represents this principally as a triangular structure; for the purposes of this research and the visual analysis undertaken in Chapters 7 and 8, it is helpful to visualise these elements as a series of *themes* which are emphasised and bound by concentric circles (see as an example *Figure 2.2*). Such themes are associated with entities or events which might work as an *influencer* or stimulant to activity, or an attractant, which works like a magnet drawing actions or behaviours towards them

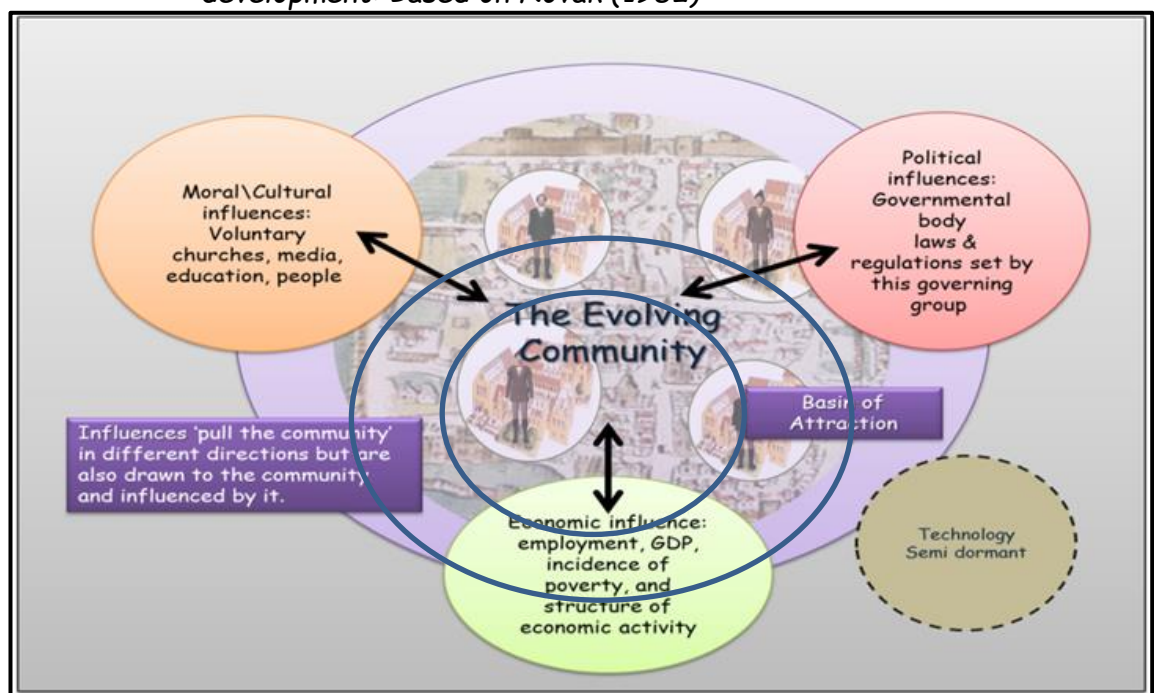
⁵⁶ The written, as opposed to the spoken word.

within a *basin* of similar stimulants. Such effects impact on communities and its members either singularly or as a whole.

This process is described in detail within Chapter 5.6.

The following diagram, Figure 2:2, provides a visual representation of Novak's theories highlighting the effect of the complex blend of influences on early communities.

Figure 2:2 The evolution of influencing attractants on early community development: Based on Novak (1982)



- *Roman Britain*

The perception of the Romans who attempted to conquer and occupy Britain from 43-410 AD that their civilising influence would be robust and maintained within the nature and systems of British communities appears naïve, as they soon discovered that to **rule** Britain was an almost impossible task throughout much of

their regime which was largely spent at war with the British people. In order to manage and suppress the population, they had to build strongholds and divide the land (like most of the other invaders of Britain) in order to maintain even the most basic standards of colonial living. Under colonial rule the local population offered a mixed reaction to their masters concerns (Bede 673-735). Even the foundations of law, the principles of the Justinian codes (developed from Roman law 449BC to 530) which influenced much of Europe was apparently rejected, once the former colonial masters withdrew from Britain - around AD410. Tribal law once again prevailed, and the people generally conceded to mob rule in terms of retribution and the physical chastisement of those who were felt to have offended against the general good.

- *The Rise of the 'Commune'*

The notion of the '*Primitive Hoard*' (Darwin 1871) linking the concepts of nature and culture, had graduated over time into the idea of commune, or an intentional community, which punished those who had offended against custom. This process was originally supported by a semi-prescribed inquisitorial system. Punishment was based upon the principles of summary justice, the commune deciding upon cause, effect and consequence. From 410- 1066AD, rather than the influence and assimilation of the *civilising* Romans, pockets of Britain at various times was subjugated by Viking, Angle and Saxon invaders. According to Gildas (490AD), a British monk, '*The Ruin of Britain*', was God's punishment for the sins of the (*largely still pagan*) British tribes.

2.4 The Development of Formal Legal Structures

The reciprocal arrangement between society, as a macro consolidation of many commune needs, and the requirements of *commune* as a micro representation of their concord, was pioneered in Saxon times when society resolved to provide the first unofficial structure to preserve order and protect the community.

In 579, with the formal acceptance of the new Christian religion the enthronement of Aethelbert of Kent (the first 'Christian' King) local decisions were not only supported by community desires but in the name of God. In 664, whilst Britain still remained a series of independent Kingdoms, the process began to unify the rituals involved in Christian worship nationally.

With the systematic conquest of a number of the British kingdoms by Vikings it seemed that Britain would again fall from any unified structure of community. This changed with the development of a negotiated peace settlement with the Vikings, composed by the Wessex King Alfred, and his subsequent founding of diplomatic links with the Kings' of Wales and Mercia. As a result of these initiatives, Alfred was provided the opportunity to establish a unified community law. This was based upon the principles of law-giving from the Bible's Book of Exodus and custom and practice from the codes of Aethelbert of Kent, Ine of Wessex and Offa of Mercia. In this way Alfred was able to both unify a code and avoid unnecessary changes to custom. This led to the concept of; '*What ye will that other men should not do to you, that do ye not to other men*', which

was linked to the provision of the 'King's peace', first developed in the reign of Alfred the Great (871-901).

2.5 The Rise of the English

Woolf (2000) poses an intriguing question when considering the means by which the Anglo Saxon English were able to first identify themselves as such. Whilst the location of early settlements undoubtedly influenced what Woolf terms *embryonic kingdoms*, he argues that the term refutes the impact of the responsibilities of individuals within the social networks inhabiting that core territory. Whilst it is suggested that the King or Rege, as a position, developed to mediate between kin groups and regulate potential conflict, there is also a proposal that such groups developed from the competition between the former classes of *plebe and regione*; groups previously categorised by the Roman conquerors who, according to Hodges (1989), represented the 'Tribal Hidage' of around thirty small tribal units. *Class conflict and the suppression of the masses by the powerful can be viewed as a repeating theme throughout this work.*

Whilst there is little evidence to suggest that such communities lived nomadic lifestyles, Hodges suggests that whilst they were static at a time of great political and religious complexity, they were able to absorb the ideas and innovation brought to them by migrant groups, noting, the avid adoption in some cases of *alien ideas and goods*. Woolf (2000, p.100) comments that the composition of early communities was influenced by the *forceful intrusion* of

external ethnic groups and highlights the influence of German raids and settlement in Saxon villages resulting in the communities known as the *Thames Valley Germans* in the South of England (Brittia).

The contemporary Greek historian Procopius referred to the nations inhabiting *Brittia* as the Angles, Frisians and Britons which indicates the diverse nature of such communities in early Britain, and possibly reflects tribal tensions. Communities were additionally found to be associated with distinct aspects of life. Hines (1977) comments, that after the Saxon wars, Bede records that the Saxon groups were still largely associated with the military whilst the tribes of Angles were linked to more religious communities. The structures which finally identified these disparate communities as English were introduced by the West Saxon King's, Egbert and Alfred. These structures were subsequently consolidated by Alfred who introduced coins which identified him as 'Rex Angleorum' or King of the English.

2.6 The Preservation of the King's peace.

With the death of Eric Blood Axe the last Viking ruler of the northern kingdoms, agreement among the remaining British Kings established Edgar (ruling from 959-975) as the first King of a unified England. In addition to bringing peace, Edgar is credited with the development of the Saxon 'Tything' system. This more formal structure of preserving the King's peace began to evolve with

individuals becoming assigned as 'Tything' men to protect the peace (Rawlings 2002). According to Hallam (1871);

'.....every ten men in a village were answerable for each other, and if one of them committed an offence the other nine were bound to make reparation'.

This principle was very much in line with religious beliefs that humanity was responsible for the actions or inactions of its fellow members⁵⁷. Representatives of local tything's were appointed to meet with others at what was initially called a *Hundred Court* to consider cases and punish transgressors and, with an initial focus on 'moral' codes rather than legislation, decide upon a more unified form of punishment for those individuals whom local communes decided had transgressed local custom and practice. The general focus of power over punishment however remained within the local commune as exemplified by the process of *hue and cry* in which anyone wronged could still demand their *commune* support to chase and restrain the offender.

With the evolution of feudal society, and the erosion of direct and absolute control of *Fiefs*⁵⁸, aspects of policing the commune and maintaining order became linked geographically and temporally to administrative units. The first formally constructed unit, known as the '*Shires*', dated from the tenth century.

⁵⁷ *Genesis* 4.9

⁵⁸ Local manors ruled by landowners by authority of the Kings Warrant.

Each Shire or district was governed by an Earl with the support of 'Shire-reeves' or 'prepositius' Bailiffs⁵⁹. This structure was replaced after the Norman Conquest in 1066 by a new geographically unique unit for the administration of justice and subordination of the people. King William of Normandy consolidated the idea of personal responsibility for public order by developing the ethos of the 'pledge' declaring that; *'everyone who wishes to be regarded as free must be in a pledge, and that the pledge must hold and bring him to justice if he commits any offence'*. (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1911)

By 1085 with the production of the Domesday book not only did the Norman King William hold the means of community control; but also information about its citizens.

'Just as the sentence of that strict and terrible Last Judgement cannot be evaded by any art or subterfuge, so, when a dispute arises in this realm concerning facts which are written down, and an appeal is made to the book itself, the evidence it gives cannot be set at nought or evaded with impunity'
(Dialogue of the Exchequer 1179 in Maitland 1897).

The Normans appeared to appreciate that to know and better understand a community would grant power, in addition to that exerted as a conqueror, in the same way that an accountant might understand a financial balance. Thus the Domesday Book became a form of *Panopticon*, in that formerly invisible communities of Britain became visible for the first time. As a result, the

⁵⁹ Shire-reeves later became known as Sheriffs. Bailiffs continue to work within the criminal justice system today to secure property.

communities of Britain were now part of a resource base which might be manipulated and transacted when needed. As Foucault (1995) later noted in relation to prison discipline; the ever-visible inmate (or citizen) is always, *"the object of information, never a subject in communication"*. This issue appears further underlined by Kumar (2003, p.53) who notes that during the years over which the Normans held influence there was a community dynamic which further separated rulers from the ordinary people - namely their use of language and communication.

'What kind of nation is it in which virtually the whole governing class speaks a language different from the common people, and in which the dominant institutions and outlook are firmly international The disjuncture between state and people-common of course in pre-modern societies is only too evident'.

Kumar (2003, p.53)

The use of language and the ability (or its lack) to communicate with community is a consistent theme within the evolution of English communities and the maintenance of order highlighted by this review⁶⁰.

The development of the 'County' as a territorial division, provided for local and national administrative, political and legal functions, and in 1166, in the reign of Henry II, legislation under the Assize of Clarendon was implemented that began to formalize the obligations and responsibilities of the *commune response to the commission of crime*. It additionally ordered that every person of

⁶⁰ See as an example The Context to modern policing Section 2:6

substance over the age of 12 should be enrolled in a Frankpledge (the formal evolution of King William's *pledge*). The Frankpledge, which was similar to the philosophy of tything, determined the need to; '*abate the power of felons*', and furthermore set out some of the principles of the common law including a citizen's responsibility for the prevention of crimes committed in their district and their role in crime detection. This has evolved today as the right of citizen's arrest.

The Assize of Clarendon declared that all members of the population had a responsibility to report anything suspicious to the Sheriffs men for investigation and possible punishment. Like the concept of hue and cry before, the '*posse comitatus*' could also be raised by the Kings county official, generally the Sherriff, to chase a criminal, and, anyone called upon to participate in the chase was compelled to join in. The concept of the *Eyre* introduced the monitoring of law by the Kings Judiciary who travelled over the country and required that Bailiffs, Mayors or others who had presided over locally based judgements of crime be called to account for their decisions (Rawlings 2002).

- The Case of Robert de Kingstone

An example of the partnership role of the community and its *authority* and *responsibility* to '*self-police*' in the latter part of the dark ages, is to be found in the case of Robert de Kingstone which is represented in Appendix 2 (Chew and Weinbaum 1970). Whilst this illustration centres upon the processes involved in investigating the crime of murder committed by Robert, it also reflects the

development of community responsibility for offending behaviour, as it evidences that the responsibility for reparation to the victims of unlawful acts lies, at this time, with the members of the offender's home community. This commitment comes as a result of the *frankpledge*. In this example it appears that in spite of the 'citizen's arrest', by a grieving mother and her neighbours, the offender in this case was inadvertently allowed to escape. The resulting record of action by the Judges in this case, appears to collectively blame the inhabitants of *the Ward* for Robert (the offender's) escape, as since they could not claim ignorance of his arrest by them, it was stated that they must accept responsibility and face a fine for his later disappearance. This case additionally provides an early example of *victim blaming* by the authorities. In this situation however the local authorities avoided being fined as they argued that as Robert belonged to another district, and as this came under the jurisdiction of another 'Frankpledge', he was not their responsibility.

In 1285 with legislation embedded in the Statute of Winchester , the duty of all men to *police themselves* was formally acknowledged with an additional requirement that two men in every hundred should be appointed as constables whose duty it was to inspect the '*local armament*' on a half-yearly basis. Public responsibility and accountability was further developed and the formal title of '*capitales constabularii et custodes pacis*'—'*constable of hundreds and keepers of peace*', was confirmed.

The statute of Winchester additionally recognised a need to develop a number of supplementary roles to maintain peace and protect the commune. In addition to the office of Constable was the subordinate role of Watchmen, whose responsibility it was to 'watch and ward'. Once created, these roles remained without significant change for over 500 years. Over this period of time former Tything men became *Parish Constables* and the former *Shire-reeves* evolved into the new role of *Justice of the Peace* whose job it was to manage them (Rawlings 2002).

2.7 Community Responsibility

The development of the 'Ward Moot' continued a tradition originally conceived by the Romans, which was known as the plebiscite. This process sought to identify the level of 'fault' (*crime*) or 'nuisance' (*disorder*) locally and, with the support of local people (*the Ward*), improve or remedy the situation⁶¹. The Moot also appointed the staff to support order in local communities.

'At the wardmoot the alderman and the reputable men of the ward, as well as the jurors, ought to elect constables, scavagers, ale-conners, a beadle, and other officers - who, at the General Court already mentioned, shall take their respective oaths of office.'

Reily (1859, pp.36-38)

⁶¹ This aspect continues in a variety of guises today within community and neighbourhood policing initiatives

Amongst the recorded offences investigated by the Alderman and his Constables at this time were offences associated with disturbing the peace, fire hazards, the investigation and /or the removal of undesirable members of the community (such as leper's, prostitutes or outlaws), offences relating to the consumption and selling of ale and unlawful dung throwing. The investigation and resolution of anti-social behaviour was also part of these duties which might additionally include the monitoring of cattle and pigs and the work of money lenders and bakers. The investigation of suspicious people, who might be out on the streets after curfew and employers who might be paying illegally high wages to builders were also noted to be part of their duties. Officers were also required to monitor their colleagues behaviour and report it if it became unlawful.

As Foucault would later declare;

'He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection'

Foucault (1995, pp. 202-203)

Constables were elected or appointed annually, swore allegiance to the Crown, were unarmed and expected to work in this role (without pay) in co-operation with the local Justices, whose role was formalised within the Justice of the Peace Act 1361, to preside over local courts and secure and maintain the law.

This provided a template for a partnership between the officers of the law and the administrators of justice which continues today.

A comparison of the Oaths of Constable from the early and mid-fifteenth century⁶² reveals a number of subtle differences over this period of time and highlights not only the changes expected of them in role but also their increasing responsibilities. Whilst the latter Oath appears to more formally identify a Constables responsibility towards members of the local community it also connects principally with duties associated with the monarch. These basic principles remain in the modern day attestation of police officers⁶³.

2.8 Peace, Population and the Development of Practice.

Between the reigns of Henry VII and Elizabeth I the population of Britain doubled and, as a result, the structures within the English commune began to destabilise. Not only did the rise in population link to an increase in unemployment and rapid price inflation, as a result of the reduction in available resources, but it additionally connected to a number of functional changes within society. The role of the Lord Lieutenant, as the local representative of the sovereign, became increasingly important as, amongst his various regional duties, was a responsibility to monitor and report on the influence of change as an indicator of societal stability. *Community stability* could thus be identified by communal responses to

⁶² See Oaths in Appendix 3

⁶³ (see Appendix 6)

religious ambiguity, changes in law and order, outbreaks of the plague and parochial economic prosperity or decline.

An example of the type of information which would provide an indicator of collective equilibrium would be the behaviour of young people. Blacklock, (1897), suggests for example, that the behaviour of young people in the year 1534 may have been viewed as disruptive as they were banned from the streets of Leominster after 10pm without lawful reason. Such information would have been collated and despatched to London by the local Lord Lieutenant's where it would have been compared with similar behaviours in other locations to identify any patterns or indicators or murmurings of possible civil unrest against the throne.

The Roman Catholic Church which had formerly provided its own unique methods of managing crime and criminality; mainly relating to threats of hell and eternal damnation was supplanted by the more *moderate* voice of the Protestant Church. The monasteries, previously linked to the health and wellbeing of communities and aligned to the principles of *Matthew Chapter 25*, that all Christians shall - *'feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, welcome the stranger, clothe the naked, visit the sick, visit the prisoner and bury the dead'*; were now seen as corrupt by the new order. Land and property was as a consequence gleefully confiscated and religious orders dissolved. War in Europe and social and political unrest in England added supplementary fuel to destabilise formerly solid communities. As a consequence, the Monarch and Parliament

introduced a number of legal initiatives intended to provide some further regulation and control.

The first was intended to tackle the significant rise in people living *without means*, and, with the introduction of Parish Registers in 1552 it was possible to monitor the numbers of people living in local communities who might be defined as the '*deserving*' or '*undeserving*' poor. For the purposes of these records, distinction was made between those who wanted to work but could not find suitable employment or who were too young, old or infirm to work; and those who were regarded as '*idle*'. The deserving were, as a consequence, found the means to work or receive support, whilst the undeserving were shown the error of their ways by means of public whipping as a lesson, a form of utilitarian deterrent for following similar unacceptable behaviour.

Queen Elizabeth I came to the English throne in 1558 and ruled England from 1558 to 1603. Between 1572 and 1597 she initiated further developments in taxation and the management of the local poor which were combined in 1601 with the formal introduction of the Poor Law Act. This made each parish formally responsible for the care of the local poor. With the concept of property ownership it was the moral duty of the wealthy to provide support for those in need. Local parish officers were given powers to levy local taxes thus ensuring that the poor could be cared for in an appropriate manner. In Leicester, for example, the town was divided into twelve Wards for the purpose of policing and control (Stanley ND).

There was also an unexpected development in that the able poor without means began to migrate to other villages and cities in England to seek out employment opportunities, rather than relying upon the 'Poor House' to sustain them. Clark (1979, p. 83) suggests that; *'..... most would fit into one of two categories: moving for either 'betterment' or subsistence'. At one end of the migrant social spectrum were wealthy yeomen and retired gentry snapping up vacant freeholds; at the other were dispossessed smallholders, labourers and craftsmen driven from their native parish by enclosures, crop failures and disease'.*

Whilst most community members were formerly known within local areas to members of the constabulary, an expanded community which was now becoming a society found that local knowledge, which had formerly provided intelligence and consequently control over the population, could no longer be relied upon to ensure community safety. In his examination of poverty and fear in Tudor England, Beier (1974) identifies the numbers of unemployed labourers, craftsmen, dispossessed widows and soldiers' wives who appear in local parish and other records written by parish clerks and constables as recipients of *poor relief*. He additionally notes that; *'The same sort of people crop up in settlement certificates as illegal 'squatters' or 'vagabonds' harried from parish to parish by anxious overseers of the poor'.* (ibid, pp.3-29)

Whilst the working able-bodied poor were tolerated, the fear of destitute families becoming a charge upon the parish led to their prosecution and further

punishment. In the cities the poor became part of ghetto communities sharing a common language (canting) and were seen by the wealthy as being *up to no good*.

In the country the poor suffered as a result of the desire of wealthy landowners to enclose their property and land in order to develop alternative farming methods. 'Enclosure' meant that land, which could have previously been used by the poor without charge, was now unavailable. Constables found themselves again in the middle of such issues. On the one hand they would be tasked to fulfil their responsibilities under the *Oath* to uphold the law, which incidentally supported the needs of the wealthy, yet on the other, their status or class within society would be very similar to those they would police.

Whilst it might not be appropriate to make direct associations with the communities of modern England there are undoubtedly similarities in the use of language (slang and rap) as an example of a division between populations and the disenfranchisements of some of the poorest or *different* communities of England with the police attempting to keep order in the middle of potential social unrest.

In 1655 with the changes brought in by the abolition of the monarchy, puritan England saw briefly an emergence of Cromwell's new model army which sought again to reassert the morals of the English population by encouraging puritan beliefs but, according to some historians, permitting levels of religious freedom formerly unknown. In 1657 Cromwell likened his role of Lord Protector to that of; a '*good Constable set to keep the peace of the parish*', (Abbott 1937-47, iv p.407). With the monarchy restored in 1658 one might anticipate the

immediate decline of religious values and moral conformity, however, contemporary records indicate the comparatively low rate of illegitimate births in the country, as this is suggested to be a moral barometer of society it indicates that, for a while at least, the puritan ethos of moral obedience remained.

Soon however the role of Constable would be further tested by the impact of the plague, which, in 1664, according to Mead (1772) had turned the community into hell on earth:

'It is no small Part of the Misery, that attends this terrible Enemy of Mankind, that whereas moderate Calamities open the Hearts of Men to Compassion and Tenderness this greatest of Evils is found to have the contrary effect. Whether Men of wicked Minds, through Hopes of Impunity, at these Times of Disorder and Confusion, give their evil Disposition full Scope, which ordinarily is restrained by the Fear of Punishment; or whether it be, that a constant view of Calamities and Distress, does so pervert the Minds of Men as to blot out all Sentiments of Humanity; or whatever else be, the Cause, certain it is that at such Times, when it should be expected to see all Men unite in one common Endeavour to moderate the publik Misery; quite otherwise they grow regardless of each other and Barbarities are often practiced, unknown at other times.'

Policing the plague stricken communities of England would certainly have been another task which was associated with their responsibilities of minimising risk of the transmission of sickness via, 'noysome fowle and vermine'. As an example of its impact on the citizens of England, Wilshire (1970) explains that

the worst plague years in Leicester were 1563-1564, 1610-1611 and 1636-1639. At this time things were becoming so desperate that the people requested help from the *Hundreds Assizes* to maintain order. This indicates that the police locally were unable to cope with the situation and had to call upon their neighbours for reinforcements. After so many years of hardship however, lessons about the management of such disasters had obviously been learned as records indicate that in 1665 Leicester escaped the devastation caused by the Great Plague, possibly as a result of the precautionary measures taken as a result of these previous incidents.

After the Plague and Great Fire of 1666, the *Oath of Constables within the City of London 1688*, an early form of attestation, provides a more concise view of duty and obligation noting the now continued requirement of officers to keep the King's peace and, '*arrest all them that make contest, riot, debate or affray in breaking of the peace*'. They consequently pursued those who did make an affray from, '*street to street and from ward to ward*', in order that they might be brought before the courts. Their duties also included the reporting of deaths, the counting of orphans and monitoring of alehouses. The new form of attestation may also be seen to reflect a need to more vigorously police a more potentially turbulent time historically as the year 1688 also saw the end of the reign of the Stuart monarchy as a result of the '*Glorious Revolution*' in favour of the Hanoverian William of Orange.

In contrast to the introduction of potentially more oppressive policing powers, as suggested by the Constables Oath of 1688, the decade also saw⁶⁴ the introduction of the Bill of Rights, which continues to be an enduring constitutional pillar of the English legal system.

In spite of fluctuating population levels within communities, it was however still possible for most victims of crime to know the perpetrators of the offence and to bring them to justice. Individuals with *means* would do this by employing a thief taker; an apparently more effective way of bringing offenders to justice than trusting to the actions of the local Constable or Justice of the Peace. If however the crime was witnessed, it was the duty of all citizens to arrest the wrongdoer or at the very least report the crime to the authorities. In a treatise to the Mayor of London the author Daniel Defoe reflected the general concern that the formal legal procedures put in place to manage society's ills might not be up to the task;

'The whole city my Lord is alarmed and uneasy; wickedness has got such a head and the robbers and insolence of the night are such that the citizens are no longer secure within their own walls or safe in passing their streets but are robbed, insulted and abused even at their own doors.... The citizens Are oppressed by rapin and violence; hell seems to have let loose troops of human D- is upon them; and such mischief's are done within the bounds of your government as

⁶⁴ In 1689

never practiced here before (at least not to such a degree) and which if suffered to go on will call for armies not Magistrates to suppress'.

Defoe (1698)

This behaviour was reminiscent of a veritable crime wave as Defoe later continues;

'Violence and Plunder is no longer confin'd to the Highways, The Streets of the City are now the Places of Danger; men are knock'd down and robbYd, nay, sometimes murther'd at their own Doors, and in passing and repassing but from House to House,,or from Shop to Shop. Stagecoaches are robb'd in-High-Holbourn, White-Chappel, Pall Mall, Soho and at almost all the Avenues of the City. Hackney-Coaches and Gentlemen's Coaches are stopt in Cheapside, St. Paul's Church-yard, the Strand, and other the most crowded streets, and that even while the People in Throngs are passing and repassing ... 'Tis hard. that in a well-govern'd City,, It should be said that her Inhabitants are not now safe'.

Defoe (1736, pp. 10-11)

In London in particular, concerns about the increasing levels of crime led to Vestry men⁶⁵ seeking changes to the law to facilitate the establishment of paid night watchmen who would help to keep the peace⁶⁶. Recruits were generally taken from the demobilised military and contrary to popular belief, were fit and generally armed (Emsley 2009). They were additionally granted powers to stop

⁶⁵ A member of a church parish council responsible for the administration of parish services.

⁶⁶ Noted in The Westminster Watch Act 1735

and question anyone carrying a 'bundle' after dark and were understanding of the application of law in such circumstances.

The duty of nominated citizens to act in the office of constable or as a member of the watch had continued with little or no change from the processes involved in the early tything system. Whilst their conventional role and responsibility was on record, there was little or no structure or organisation to support or develop the function, in a way that might be quantifiable as having an impact upon crime. Those citizens who could avoid their responsibilities as a Constable or Watchman would do so by employing others to take their place, and, in some cases, known criminals would be nominated to serve. In spite of this, archival research suggests that the concept of the police in a number of communities in Britain had expanded to encompass the idea of an urban/ local government service coordinated by a bureaucrat, who did not wholly focus on law enforcement (Haywood 1996).

Whilst other Western European countries had already developed and implemented within their written constitutions suitable codes for the support of justice and policing, Britain remained without such procedures. Whilst policing was seen as haphazard, an exemplar of social inequalities, and, in some cases, a potentially bizarre state of affairs, it was still viewed by the English as being preferable to the alternative as exemplified by the French system of policing, the *gendarmerie* or *Jenny Darbies*, which was perceived as militaristic and authoritarian.

Sadly, the determining feature of this historical period appears to be the control and criminalisation of the poor and the development of the criminal law to reflect commercial changes as opposed to the management of potentially a more *efficient* criminal class and the protection of the public at large. In examination, Sharpe (1999, p. 254) notes; '*Patterns of crime were not, therefore, reflecting patterns of legislation and there is little evidence of new forms of crime creating serious problems before 1750*'.

The punishment of offenders of minor criminal acts had also evolved to a lesser extent from a focus on shaming, to restoration and arbitration and, in addition, to more immediate forms of punishment. Offenders might also be ordered to spend time in a house of correction. Sharpe notes the experiences of a Liverpool man who wrote in 1678 of one of his tenants (who had repeatedly offended against him) that he was; '*Glad to send her to the house of correction, since which time she has been much better. She hath been once bridled, twice carted and once ducked*' (Sharpe 1999 p; 258).

2. 9 The Formal Development of Policing- Lundman's 'Stage 3'

According to Lundman (1980) formal policing evolves from a three stage developmental process. The first stage involves members of a community sharing the responsibility for a process of informal policing. This is reflected by the discussions undertaken in earlier sections of this chapter, where community members are seen to be involved in a mutually beneficial contract where they

shared similar common values but worked to meet them independent of a formal structure of control.

The latter sections of this chapter provide evidence of the second stage of policing which involves the transitional process when individuals are assigned to a particular role of 'police'. The final stage, which will be reviewed within the following sections of this chapter, coincides with the development of a more organic community. This is associated with a time of great societal upheaval and historically removes the responsibility of policing from society at large, subsequently, defining the formal policing roles allocated to those who would become officially responsible for societal protection and social control.

2. 10 Policing and the Philosophy of Justice

'Those who can make you believe absurdities can make you commit atrocities'
Voltaire (1765)

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries coincide with a progression from Lundman's second to third stage and the need for the public to accept a more official structure of enforcement. Community, commune or society had, up to this time kept control of the management of crime⁶⁷. In spite of this however the response to crime was fragmented and not equitable. Wealthy districts were able to employ the more able members of society to facilitate

⁶⁷ It might however be argued that this community ownership was illusory as the ruling classes nationally (or locally in the person of the magistrate) still held ultimate responsibility as to the means and methods of the suppression or application of the law but generally the population still had a constitutional responsibility to participate.

crime management, whilst poorer areas continued to utilise the services of what Whig historians (generally incorrectly) propose were all decrepit 'Charlie's' or Watchmen.

The fluid nature of population movement and the lack of shared process meant that escape from justice was easy. Whilst the population needed a more cohesive strategy to manage an escalating crime rate, they were naturally suspicious that the constitutional rights they had fought to maintain would be eroded by any methods of authoritarian interference. This suspicion was maintained by the local ruling classes who, assisted by their influence and means, felt it was their duty to continue to promote, retain and reinforce the status quo, even if it compromised life and security for other less-fortunate members of the community.

This situation changed when, as a result of the return of soldiers from the war of the *Spanish Succession* in 1741, there was an increase in property related and violent crime and society's wealthy residents started to become directly affected. Such changes in patterns of crime meant that, whilst formerly secure, the affluent now became more vulnerable to crime themselves. Highway robbery in particular was becoming common place and, as members of a property owning community, they were particularly at risk from this type of felony.

Archived records held by the Old Bailey on line suggest that 85.62% of offenders who were charged and brought to the court at this time were categorised as having committed a crime associated with theft (Old Bailey 1741).

Whilst poverty, war and famine drove many to commit crime, internationally this period was considered to be the age of enlightenment. According to the French philosopher Voltaire, who had admired the unwritten process and tolerance apparent in the British constitution (a situation which had been apparently suppressed elsewhere in Europe) it was a time when *the Enlightened* believed that there should be equitable levels of punishment, relative to the crimes committed. This would, in consequence, act as a suitable deterrent to potential offending for the rational criminal. An appropriate crime management strategy, which included a formal process of policing, would consequently enhance and reinforce this ideal.

Philosophers such as Montesque, Rousseau, Beccaria and Bentham deliberated crime and its management in their considerations on the human condition and the spirit of humanity which could drive it to - or withhold it from- the commission of sin. All reflections would serve to challenge the '*Bloody Code*' of punishment, which was, at the time promoted and made infamous by the Newgate Calendar (also known as the Malefactors Bloody Register) which was a monthly chronicle of crimes and their punishment. This publication acted as a chastening advocate to its readers of the need to remain obedient to the law. Klinger (2005) reminds us that similar forms of policing, penal policy and practice continues to impact upon crime management processes.

'The notion that arrest lowers the odds of subsequent violence, while not always recognized as such, is clearly rooted in the classic theory of deterrence, which holds that punishing offenders leads to lower rates of offending'.

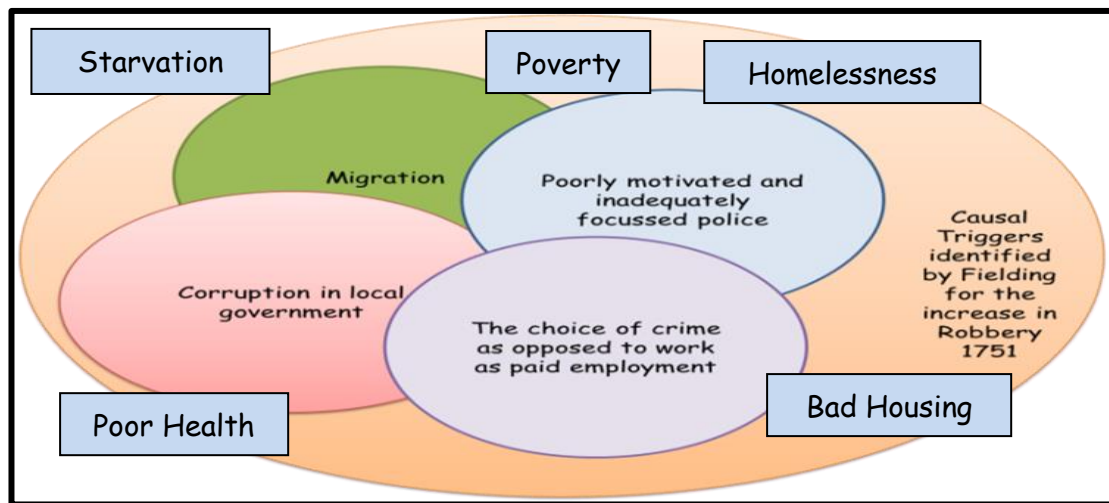
(Klinger 2005, p. 4)

In contrast to the high esteem of the British people held by Voltaire, it appears that the English were seen by themselves and their rulers according to Townsend (1993) as an *ungovernable people*, who should be managed when necessary by military force.

2. 11 Crime Control

Gains et al (1999) write that as a result of the lack of a coherent strategy for crime control, the role of the Constable and Watchman came under scrutiny by the Fielding brothers, John and Henry, whom they suggest were responsible in the 1700s for attempting to change the system of policing and punishment; subsequently developing the *Bow Street Runners*. Henry Fielding who was known as a successful satirist and writer was also a barrister who later became a London Magistrate. His interest in politics and the reformation of the criminal justice system at the time, led to work with his brother John to investigate corruption and develop a more regulated strategy for policing London. His report into the reasons for increase in the London crime rate, '*An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers*' which was published in 1751, identified a number of apparent triggers which are highlighted in Figure 2.3 in the circles of influence; other less visible stimuli are noted in the blue squares.

Figure 2:3 Causal Triggers identified by Fielding for the increase in Robbery (1751)



Like the elements previously noted by Novak (1982) and formally visualised in Figure 2:2, Figure 2:3 highlights that whilst each factor can be noted as having a specific (independent) influence, it becomes an attractant when combined with other elements such as poverty and poor housing. Together the motivation or attraction towards crime combines to change the behaviours of certain members of London's population. As Figure 2:3 suggests, for Fielding at any rate whole communities were affected by the increase in crime. Amongst the triggers or attractants that made this possible were underlying cultural, community and resource drivers associated with migration and, possibly of greater importance, the lack of motivation within positions of authority to change the status quo and the corrupt practices which undermined the legal system.

To this end, in early 1749, using transnational models of policing as a guide, Henry and John converted part of their office in Bow Street into a police station

and initially employed eight of the best London Constables as '*Runners*'. Working with the Courts, their role was directly funded by the public and their remit involved the arrest and prosecution of offenders nationally⁶⁸. The number of Bow Street officers was supplemented by the development of a mounted branch later known as Redbreasts because of an identified red waistcoat. These officers were subsequently used to support the military in the frequent cases of riot within the capital, notably the Strand Riots of 1749 and the Gordon Riots of 1780. According to Rawlings (1995, pp. 129-149) the Fielding's believed that proactive policing and crime detection would result in social control; '*by means of the criminal law, poor law, administrative regulation, institutions and philanthropy*'. (Rawlings, 1995, pp. 142-143).

Fielding was regrettably not supported in his innovative proposals for change by the majority of London's population, and a number of his schemes to improve safety and the performance and quality of policing were refused over the next few years as being *too costly*. His successes however meant that the clear foundations for a more organised 'type' of policing was developed in London which, with the organisation of police districts and the development and distribution of a crime gazette⁶⁹ provided for a more proactive, intelligence led, community focussed form of policing.

⁶⁸ Working in plain or *common* clothes, the Bow Street Runners were not permitted to become a uniformed presence for fear of public detachment and links with militarism.

⁶⁹ This was intended to highlight an offender's description and *modus operandi*.

Social unrest and public displays of disquiet were not unique to the capital as research into popular protest describes chartist demonstrations in many English cities at this time. In Leicester for example, one spell of rioting in 1787 went on for ten days, but, in contrast to many other locations where the military was required to intervene they were not called to assist. This was, it is suggested, mainly because of the decision by the local Mayor - who also happened to be the Chief Magistrate, to attest over five hundred additional constables, who were required, as *special constables*, to support existing Leicester based constables and watchmen. This case also provides us with a negative exemplar of the influence of technology which was having a greater impact on society as a driver of the industrial revolution; in this instance, public demands to ban spinning machines, had spurred the local community on to take action (Wykes 1978, pp.39-50).

Political proposals for the formation of an official police force, or full time peacekeepers, were prematurely cut down in parliament in 1785 due to the fear of the introduction of a paramilitary, repressive, French-style force. In 1797 however, a Magistrate, Patrick Colquhoun studied the potential for a full-time police and published his *Treatise on the Policing of the Metropolis*. Colquhoun argued that, particularly in the areas of the London docks, the introduction of a Marine police would be cost effective as it would prevent the theft of cargo and reduce other similar offences in the area. Colquhoun's argument was so persuasive that in 1798 the Marine Police was formed, but only as a private police force.

2.12 Follow the Money

In contrast to the reluctance to agree the development of community focussed policing, human and physical resources and policing powers had been made formally available from the time of the *Magna Carta* to manage the collection of taxes and other monies. This aspect of *Customs Collectors* or *Nova Custuma* and *Carta Mercatoria* (responsible for weights and measures) originated by Royal patent in 1275 and 1303 respectively and had evolved significantly over the centuries. By the 1700s however the Board of Customs and Excise was stated to be chronically understaffed. Staffing had in former times depended upon royal patronage and whilst directly unconnected both areas were generally responsible for policing the import of goods around the British coasts and ports to prevent smuggling. As formally discussed, the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13) significantly influenced society and policing, it also compelled an increase in revenue to fill much depleted treasury resources. This impacted upon levels of smuggling and further decreased the popularity of the *Excise* men. Areas of Customs and Excise continued to be unpopular with the community, in particular the rising merchant classes who believed that any further increase in support for this government venture would fuel corrupt practices and tighten the administration of revenue collection. This aspect was made particularly apparent by the refusal by parliament of Sir Robert Walpole's proposals for the introduction of bonded warehouses in 1722. This indicates that, like the potentially negative impact of the upper classes on crime management and policing,

previously noted, the negative influence of the merchant classes, for some significant time, contributed to the state of lawlessness and inadequate strategies of crime management prevalent within British society.

As will be discussed in later chapters, this type of subtle influence is seen as a form of *shadow system* when viewed through the lens of complexity⁷⁰.

2.13 The Impact of the Industrial Revolution

From 1760 to the mid-1800s English society was experiencing an unstructured evolution which was in this historical period being driven by technological transformation. Chased by new technology and the mechanisation of industry, people moved like rats to find a more financially rewarding nest from the rural to urban environs. For similar reasons we note today as causal factors of the disharmony of society, quality of life issues began to impact upon the communities of the industrial revolution.

The population which had doubled in the eighteenth century would double again by 1871. But whilst technology brought reward it also impacted upon the poor, particularly unskilled workers, reducing their income and ability to earn. Such poverty fuelled social unrest and led to the organisation of labour and the 1812 Luddite riots. Subtly, government needed to take additional measures to ensure the greater control of the masses and in 1816 the maritime force, controlled by

⁷⁰ (see as an example Chapter 5 section 9)

Customs and Excise, was passed in its entirety to the Admiralty which had a more militaristic focus where it remained until 1822.

Even before the development of the Metropolitan Police, the threat of mutiny by the militia after their unfortunate deployment to suppress demonstrators in the Peterloo Massacre of 1819 and, the impact of the post Napoleonic War crisis caused by returning and homeless servicemen, meant that government sought suitable legislated powers to control an unruly and dysfunctional population and the formal means to exercise that control. The resulting Vagrancy Act (1824) primarily regulated the movements of homeless ex-soldiers, *but could be applied to others if necessary*. Ironically the Act was to be later identified as being responsible as a catalyst to the Brixton riots of the 1980s in the wake of it's over use by police.

Still fearing the use of military force, made obvious by a uniformed presence, the police continued to work invisibly among the population. As a consequence, they were seen as operating in a secret world of spies and informants which troubled local communities, but in spite of this, repeated attempts to have their role formalised was crushed by public opinion.

The Home Office, the government organisation responsible for law and order, was managed by people described by the Times Newspaper in 1812, *'as the sink of all imbecility attached to every ministry for the past thirty years'* (White 1968, pp. 115-117). As this statement indicates, it was largely ineffective and continued to leave the control of law and order to local Justices and Magistrates

to manage; supported by groups of private police or the remnants of officers recruited from the old systems of watchman and constable.

Outside the metropolis, policing had remained largely the same since 1588 and worked as a loose system of local people who had volunteered, or been pressed to serve their community, within a structure organised by the Lord Lieutenant and local Magistrates. As White states: *'The remarkable fact is not that England of the Regency experienced considerable disorder, but that she did not experience a great deal more of it'* (White 1968, pp.115-117). For forty years up to Peels' development of the Metropolitan police in 1829, parliament continued an ongoing debate to discuss issues of law and order holding a total of seventeen standing committees which focussed on the subject, but failed to reach any agreement and ratify a strategy to police the country. Disagreements appeared to concentrate upon what the House of Commons Select Committee Fourth Report 1822 found to be; *'Difficult to reconcile an effective system of police with that perfect freedom of action and exemption from interference, which are the great privileges and blessings of society in this country; the forfeiture or curtailment of such advantages would be too great a sacrifice for improvements in police or facilities in detection of crime'*.

On the 5th of November 1829 in a letter to the Duke of Wellington, the then Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel had expressed his concerns about policing as follows; *'I am very glad indeed to hear that you think well of the Police. It has given me from first to last more trouble than anything I ever undertook. But the*

men are gaining a knowledge of their duties so rapidly that I am very sanguine of the ultimate result. I want to teach people that liberty does not consist in having your house robbed by organised gangs of thieves, and in leaving the principal streets of London in the nightly possession of drunken women and vagabonds. The chief danger of the failure of the new system will be, if it is made a job, if gentlemen's servants and so forth are placed in the higher offices. I must frame regulations to guard against this as effectually as I can'

Aspinal et al (2007, p. 444)

It appears that the introduction of regulation was not only seen as a curtailment of personal freedoms for some members of society but also a potential disruptor to the class structure. Peel's focus in his epistle to Wellington highlights the necessity to develop a means to prevent the lower classes from reaching senior posts within the police force; thus maintaining the status quo.

The influence of class additionally manifested itself in the appointment and promotion of senior ranks on a more subtle insidious level and was reflective of its influence within the wider community. The Reform Act passed in 1832, which had extended the right to vote to those members of society who did not own land and property (but paid more than £10 in rent or rates) had nearly resulted in revolution. At the same time, the Chartist movement continued to work to challenge the status quo and demand universal suffrage. Their actions, which peaked at times of depression and mass unemployment were, according to Joseph Rayner Stephens in a speech on 24 September 1838, associated with a group that

considered the; *'knife and fork, a bread and cheese question'*, representing the belief that economic exploitation and political subservience could be righted by parliamentary means. Such societal divides were additionally mirrored in the groups and organisations required to maintain order.

Fielding (1995) suggests that at this time, rather than being constructed as part of an organised development of a national policy, that policing grew out of the lack of local alternatives and the political will to manage social conflict. A uniformed service, which according to Sir Robert Peel was part of the community - *'the police are the public and the public are the police'*, provided the means to exercise that constraint.

Choosing carefully a uniform which contrasted with the red of the army, which might stir up public fears of para- militarism, Colonel Charles Rowan, formerly of the army and Richard Mayne a former lawyer, the appointed Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, looked to blue tail coats and top hats as providing the uniform focus for this new organisation. London was split into seventeen divisions, for the purpose of policing, and, by September 1829, each division contained four Inspectors and one hundred and forty-four Constables.

For the new regime of policing the continuation of policing in plain clothes was perceived as out of the question because of potential links to underhandedness and a lack of public accountability. In spite of these positive intentions the new police did not gain the support of the people of London. In 1833 for example, after being used to disperse crowds in *Coldbath Fields*, in what

was described at the time to be a heavy handed operation, a Coroner's jury declared that the death of a police officer who was killed in the action was justifiable homicide. The jury were consequently applauded by the public for their verdict.

The first Metropolitan '*Bobbies*' were recruited largely from the lower and working classes. *Gentlemen* did not wish to be engaged in dangerous work which might bring them into contact with distasteful members of the community. The lower classes however understood the life experiences of poor and disenfranchised and, more importantly, were cheap to employ. Out of the first two thousand and eight hundred candidates employed for the role only six hundred eventually kept their jobs the others having been dismissed for poor behaviour in post. Former Non Commissioned Officers (NCOs) in the military formed the majority of those tasked to supervise the constables (first to third class) (Fielding 1995).

The early experiences of the Metropolitan police nevertheless identified problems between the lower and higher ranks of the new force as members of the officer ranks could not effectively communicate with their lower ranking colleagues. It is suggested that initially their terms of 'shibboleth' (their cultural/societal references) were limited to the experiences of the upper classes within British society and consequently their ability to provide direction to staff under their direct command, who were from the lower classes, meant that communication was an issue (Fielding 1995).

Similarities and differences in a common language between the British classes would later be highlighted by the British linguist Ross (1952) in 'U and Non U', the 'U' standing for the 'Upper Classes' and the 'Non U'- the rest. If the linguistic residue of social class continued to be manifest in the Britain of the 1950s after significant steps towards equality and democracy, one must wonder at the single mindedness and determination of all ranks in the days of early policing to provide a service and meet the requirements of all members of the community.

In the Metropolitan area this issue was resolved by introducing the rank of *Visiting Superintendent*, who would act as an interpreter of strategic commands, subsequently communicating them to the lower ranks with guidance as to their practical application (Fielding 1995).

According to de Lint et al (2007, p. 50);

'Police were to be impartial and limited. That police could be impartial was predicated on the notion that politics and policing were distinct enterprises that could remain mutually exclusive, a view owing to Enlightenment influence. For Peel, the new police was differentiated from long-standing forms of dispute resolution and their tarnished records of influence peddling, arbitrariness, and profiteering. Police Professionalization or "modernization" was envisioned as a progressive project not weighted down by traditional power relations.'

2.14 Reaching the 'Submerged Tenth'; - policing the city's poor

In 1821 George Mainwaring, a contemporary social commentator wrote;

'The most superficial observer of the external and visible appearance of this town, must soon be convinced, that there is .a large mass of unproductive population living upon it, without occupation or ostensible means of subsistence; and, it is notorious that hundreds and thousands go forth from day to day trusting alone to charity or rapine; and differing little from the barbarous hordes which traverse an 'uncivilized land... The principle of [their] action is the same; their life is predatory; it is equally a war against society, and the object is alike to gratify desire by stratagem or force'.

Mainwaring (1821, pp. 4-5)

Such critical media reportage might easily sit within the popular press of the 21st century, which indicates that there may be few real changes to the nature of media reflection when associated with the character of English community.

Developments in social mobility at the inception of the new police had begun to change the complexion of communities and thus the manner of early police practice. Physical mobility had already been catalysed by the industrial revolution, which had transformed the human geographical profile of England and Wales and with it the level and manner of offending. Punishment practices had also been influenced by the *enlightened* philosophers of the age but, until the introduction of Peel's new police, generally poor policing practices meant that the community still had a major contribution to make to bring the *wrong doer* to

justice. In spite of this, the lower classes and the impoverished had a weaker prospect of receiving justice, as their lack of funds, education and social station meant that their word was often dismissed by those more socially powerful and articulate. They were also perceived as being more likely to have committed crime, than be a victim of it, as the anonymous writer of 1844 in Blackwoods Magazine suggests;

'In examining the classes of society from which the greater part of the crime comes, it will be found that-at least three fourths probably nine-tenths, comes from the very lowest and most destitute... If we examine who it is that compose this dismal substratum, this hideous black band of society, we shall find that it is not made up of any one class more than another--not of factory workers more than labourers, carters or miners--but it-.is formed by an aggregate of the most unfortunate or improvident of all classes,,,'

Blackwoods Magazine Unknown (1844, p. 12)

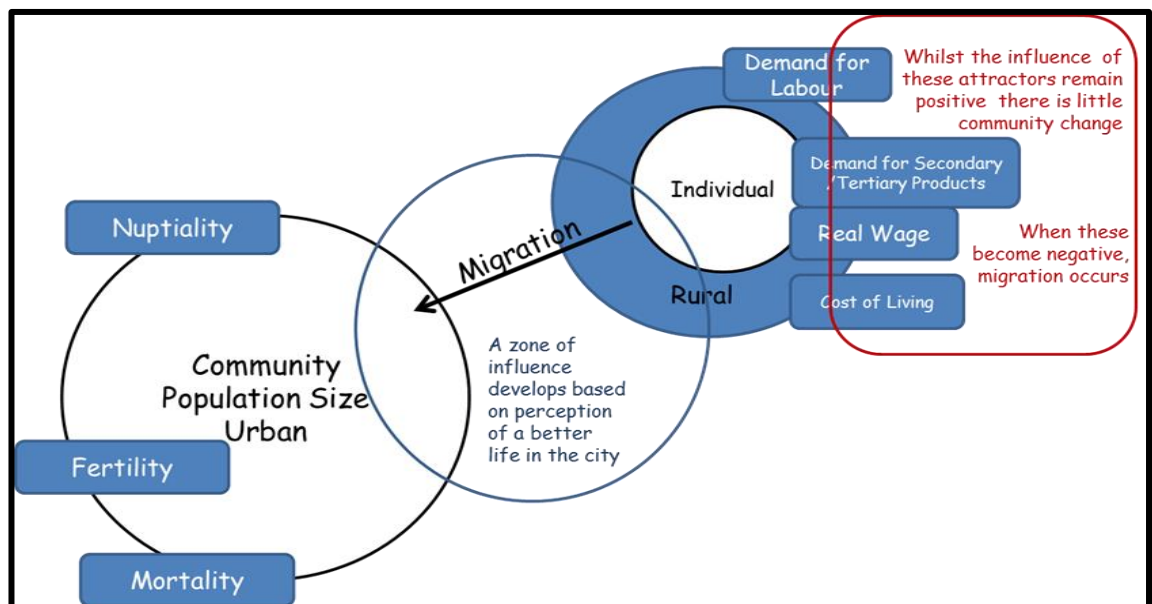
Whilst this age provided, for a few people, an opportunity to move from poverty to wealth, based on the foundation of their hard work and technological innovation⁷¹, the impact of poverty and misfortune for many was fuelled by increases in population and life expectancy. Whilst in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries life expectancy lay commonly between the ages of thirty and forty this increased to forty early in the nineteenth century and remained so until the end of the century (Woods 2000). At the beginning of a human life span

⁷¹ Robert Stevenson and Abraham Darby are good examples of this more fluid society.

infant mortality during this period increased; as did female fertility which peaked during the early 1800s

The following diagram (Figure 2.4) represents some of the influences and attractants which impacted on the mobility of communities at this time as they moved from rural to urban society. Whilst the influence of regular employment and the cost of living remained stable, there was less likelihood of community change. When demand for labour in rural areas began to decline, largely as a result of the introduction of technological innovation in agriculture, a form of negatively influenced migration began. Once individuals had moved to the more populated urban areas, growth was not only determined by migration but also aspects of nuptiality (marriage rate) female fertility and mortality.

Figure 2:4 A complex model of demographic change: England towards the end of the nineteenth century- based on Woods (2000)



The 'hard to reach' members of the community, highlighted in government policy, have always been present within local communities. Defined by Michael Ignatieff in the early days of the new police as the *submerged tenth*, it was recognised that without their cooperation and support that the new police would not meet their mandate.

Ignatieff (2005, p.28) notes that although the role of the new police was set in direct opposition at times to the life styles of the submerged or *dangerous classes*, they met their formal mandate by the successful manipulation of their discretionary powers;

'To win this cooperation the police manipulated their powers of discretion. They often chose not to take their authority to the letter of the law preferring not to press their luck in return for tacit compliance from the community. In each neighbourhood and sometimes street by street the police negotiated a complex shifting largely unspoken contract. They defined the activities they would turn a blind eye to and those which they would suppress, harass or control. This 'tacit contract' between normal neighbourhood activities and police objectives was sometimes oiled by corruption but more often sealed by favours and friendships'.

Ignatieff (2005 p;28)

In addition to their unofficial partnerships with the new police, such community members were frequently the victims of a new poor law, introduced in 1834, which formalised the use of workhouses. These were intended to support the vulnerable poor, but were frequently run as houses of discipline and cruelty,

separating families and confiscating personal property. Police Constables were frequently associated with the role and duties of an *Assistant Poor Law Relieving Officer*; being required to dispense charity by issuing relieving tickets to the most deserving victims of destitution; but also being seen as the principle enforcers of an unpopular law. Whilst this role might be seen to have been associated with those duties originally undertaken as a *Parish Constable* a century before, the *new* police also began to become more heavily involved with the prosecution of the poor, particularly those associated with victimless crimes such as drunken behaviour. This brought them in to conflict with officers of the courts and solicitors who felt that because of their social class they were not *fit* to work in this way (Emsley 2009, p. 73).

- The power and influence of social class

Whilst the power over the *Metropolis*, as the seat of government remained with the Home Secretary, communities nationally were initially permitted control over their own policing via Watch Committees and Quarter Sessions. These committees were later to become Police Authorities. Highly political, both groups were controlled by members of powerful *upper class* cliques within local communities, such as Magistrates, politicians and the landed gentry. Thomas Carlyle (1841) had compared the monarch to France's first estate - the clergy and the House of Lords to France's Second Estate of hereditary aristocracy, and the House of Commons to France's Third Estate of rich bourgeoisie, he also noted the

impact of a group he termed the Fourth Estate comprising members of the press (comprising the former political pamphleteers) whom he declared to have more influence than all the rest. Whilst all equivalent English *Estates* appear to have had significant influence over the decision to adopt a policing strategy locally or nationally, the submerged tenth were notable by their absence in this decision making process.

By 1844 it was reported that; *'destitution, profligacy, sensuality and crime, advance with unheard-of-rapidity in the manufacturing districts, and the dangerous classes there massed together combine every three or four years in some general strike alarming insurrection which, while it lasts, excites universal terrors..'*

Blackwoods Magazine Unknown (1844, p. 2).

As the report in Blackwoods indicates significant levels of class antagonism continued through this period which was fuelled by fears over increases in crime caused by the growing numbers of poor and destitute in the major cities, so much so, that the idea of these dangerous classes becoming unmanageable became a serious concern to urban administrators (Briggs 1950, p. 67).

2.15 *The Metropolitan and Irish Models of Policing*

Whilst the model of policing provided by the Metropolitan experience provided a template for policing the community nationally, not all areas felt able to adopt it as their own; preferring instead to employ what was called the *Irish model*.

Historical accounts of the development of modern day policing generally identify two perspectives. The first, which is seen usually as having a positive impact upon society has largely been considered within this text, and focuses upon; *'the successful achievement by the modern state of a means of social control in the absence of the norms and social bonds of traditional community life'* (Finnane 2004). The second considers that policing is not a class neutral pursuit, and is developed to support and maintain social inequalities. Thus, the ruling classes will develop a police force which will maintain their privileges at the expense of the underclasses. The Irish model of policing falls into the latter category and provides a model of policing that was later transported to colonial outposts. Whilst Londoners had balked at the idea of a police force, the Dublin Metropolitan Police that had been set up in 1786 was based upon paramilitary lines and used to maintain order and control. Crime was seen by Irish communities at the time as another form of protest against British colonialism; and the resulting response by police was perceived as harsh and oppressive. Whilst policing by popular consent was neither achieved nor perhaps intended in 'far-away' British colonies or on wild frontiers half way around the globe, policing at 'Home' had to

be more circumspect. According to Cain (1996, p.400) police tasks in overseas British colonies during this period included; '*maintaining external boundaries, collecting customs duties and poll taxes, "pacifying" opposition groups, rounding up conscript labour, and suppressing indigenous religious or cultural practices*'.

Some former senior officers from the Irish force would later find new roles as Chief Officers in the new police in Britain (and internationally) as the Irish model of policing was seen by some Watch Committees as having more relevance to their local communities.

- The Scottish experience

Notable by its absence in these discussions, up to this point, is the model of policing which was reflected in Scotland.

Impoverished populations in Scotland like their English counterparts had been gradually driven from rural farming communities by changes in agricultural practice in order to work in the woollen mills or heavy industry. Like the system of Magistrates in England, which largely controlled the delivery of justice to the counties, the *Scottish Commissioners of Supply* were responsible for the delivery of the Scottish legal system which, unlike the system in England, was more closely based on Roman law. In spite of these differences however, the system of local constables mirrored the functions of those in England. Records indicate that up until the introduction of the new police, police officers and watchmen worked to manage crime and social unrest against sometimes overwhelming odds. These

bodies were supplemented by private police and even para military guards in Edinburgh and like English communities there appeared to be an emphasis on criminalising the poor and rootless members of society (Emsley 2009).

Like the general concerns over societal control and unrest in England, which led to the establishment of the Metropolitan Police Force, the potential threats of crime and social *dis-ease* caused by homeless vagabonds in the 1830s Highlands of Scotland consequently triggered a reconsideration of the existing structures of Scottish modes of policing and an adoption of police practices modelled on those developed in London (Emsley 2009).

In 1853 the then Home Secretary Lord Palmerston established a Select Committee which, it was decided would consider all matters associated with the new police. With Edwin Chadwick as Secretary, the committee reviewed the progress made in establishing the new police and reported that offenders were using the opportunities that a two tier policing system provided, and were consequently taking safe haven in areas of the country that had chosen not to adopt the new recommended police processes. After a number of unsuccessful attempts to change this situation, a new Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, was able to reintroduce the concept of unilateral standards in policing.

In order to achieve this, he had to provide a financial *sweetener* to recalcitrant boroughs which was associated with the levels of efficiency identified within their police force (Critchley 1979).

To oversee this procedure, the government set up an *Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC)* who, in addition to reviewing the performance of the various police forces, was tasked to scrutinize and align police performance nationally, unify employment practices, terms and conditions and enforce organised, locally-accountable *new policing*. As a result of the implementation of the County and Borough Police Act of 1856, the Home Secretary finally became legally empowered to monitor non-Metropolitan police issues. This decision ensured that tensions caused by the desire to continue a more agrarian system of policing which reflected the traditional focus of land owner and yeoman /constable preserving the peace, was replaced by the more industrially proficient bureaucratic system advocated by the newly influential middle classes.

Evidence began to emerge that the organisation, management and deployment of officers in the Metropolitan police force area was beginning to have an impact on the potential for social unrest and levels of offending in the Metropolis. Regular beat patrolling, whilst initially seen as a novelty, began to have an impact on the levels of crime in formerly difficult areas. The administrators of police resources additionally managed and facilitated the rapid deployment of auxiliary numbers of officers to subdue unruly communities where mobs might begin to accumulate.

By 1858 the situation in London was improving, causing an unknown reviewer to write;

'No Member of Parliament would now venture to, say that it was dangerous to walk in the streets of London by day or night. Bad as the dens of infamy in London still are, they, are not to be compared with those older places of hideous profligacy ... In, the most disorderly part of the town, such as St. Giles, Covent Garden, and Holborn, the streets every Sunday morning exhibited the most outrageous scenes of fighting drunkenness and depravity ... Crimes, too, are greatly diminished in atrocity. The large gang of desperate robbers, thirteen or fourteen in number, now no longer exist.'

Blackwoods Magazine Unknown author (1858, pp.12-13)

By 1873 writing in the Westminster review, one commentator reported on the use of the telegraph system to summon and manage staff and noted;

'As each police constable being alone might easily be overpowered, and as the men of each section, or even division, might be inferior in numbers to some aggregation of roughs or criminals collected in a given spot, it is arranged that reserves of force can be gathered and concentrated upon the disquieted area, and as the commissioners command the whole district, and the force is organized and united, while roughs act in small areas, and have diverse and selfish interests, the peace of London may be held secure against violence.'

Westminster Review Unknown author (1873, p.16)

Wall (1998) suggests that inequalities between the social classes continued to be magnified within structures of policing, which may have impacted on the

outcome of a number of audits and alignments in the early days of the HMIC⁷². Mainly recruited from the senior ranks of the military, HMIC Inspectors were required to present their review findings about local police procedure to the government annually to enable a more unified policing body to be developed. The role additionally reinforced an association with the form of bureaucracy principally associated with local government. The County and Borough Police Act 1856 necessitated that in their annual reports the Inspectors respond to four areas of governmental concern. This included; the strength of the force, the ratio of police officers to local population⁷³; the degree of cooperation which might be given to neighbouring forces and the quality of supervision exercised over the officers.

It was noted that provincial forces; *'should have enough superior officers to supervise the constables on duty continuously and regularly'* (Parris 1961).

Whilst not all forces were able to evidence this issue, particularly in rural communities such as Rutland, which might have officers and their supervisors spread out over great distances, they were however able to address some of the problems which might be highlighted in inspections in other ways to the satisfaction generally of the Inspectors.

'Her' or 'His' Majesty's Inspectors were also tasked to support the needs of police officers in their desire for a nationally equitable scale of pay, terms and conditions and an assured pension scheme. The beginnings of measurements and

⁷² See as an exemplar Appendix 5 the case of Superintendent Dore.

⁷³ This was generally aimed to be 1,000 to 1.

comparisons within and between forces nationally, developed by these early inspections; was to later be associated with concepts of performance and value for money and the extension of the use of police officers in civil and social legislation. The reports would also attempt to change the physical conditions within local police stations to ensure that they were fit for purpose and eradicate small borough forces.

'It is impossible to over-rate the difficulties these small boroughs have in keeping up an independent force, as in a force of two or three men no sort of discipline or classification can be maintained, and it being impracticable to establish any superannuation fund, the men in the force are generally old, and unfit for their work from physical infirmity, and represent more the old style of watchmen than police officers of the present day. In like manner, by non-consolidation, the county force is seriously weakened, as the superintendent or inspector of the division is not generally allocated in these boroughs, most of which are head-quarters of county petty-sessional divisions, and consequently the centre of the divisional force, besides being the most advantageous spot for the public for placing the standard weights and measures for the division of the county'.

Cartwright 1856 (HMIC 2006, p.20)

By the 1860s, whilst the threat of civil unrest had largely subsided, there were still concerns about the 'Dangerous classes' identified in Henry Mayhew's report on London's *criminals, vagabonds and casually employed* (Mayhew 1861).

Whilst naturally associating with the dangerous classes as part of their duties to ensure the preservation of law and order, officers also became more heavily involved with the welfare aspect of their role organising soup kitchens and clothing for the starving, underprivileged and disenfranchised poor and providing first aid to the injured (at a time when communities lacked even the most basic medical support) without payment (Dobson 1989, p. 6). In some rural communities' they were additionally used as an alternative to a full time fire service.

Such responsibilities to the community also impacted upon officer's families as officer's wives were, in some cases, drafted in to care for women prisoners as *Station Matrons* in larger communities and, in more rural areas, *staff* the police 'house', which meant dealing with enquiries and general problems whilst the police constable (their husband) was undertaking duties in other locations. This work was generally unpaid but expected as *part of the job* by Watch Committees (the Police Authority) locally (Emsley 2009, pp.178-179).

In the anticipation of further community support for policing initiatives the Special Constables Act was passed in 1831. This encouraged citizens to volunteer for police duties as unpaid police officers to join police ranks.

Concerns over the potential for promotion of the lower classes and subsequent safeguards over class mobility in policing, highlighted by the communications between Peel and Wellington at the birth of the new police endured however, and were consequently reflected in the appointments of Chief Officers, who were directly drafted in to post from the senior ranks of the army

or navy, bypassing suitably qualified long serving *career* police officers⁷⁴. Poor pay and unfair treatment in post, coupled with high expectations of their responsibilities and apparently unfair career prospects, made manifest in the appointments of Chief Constables, who knew little about policing non-military communities, led officers to attempt changes by organising themselves as a trade union⁷⁵.

In spite of the best efforts of Her Majesty's Inspectors at this time, continued apathy by successive governments over all matters apparently associated with policing, and political power games within the small boroughs and Shire forces, meant that changes in the infrastructure of the police forces nationally, and the development of suitable working conditions, took some time to resolve. Legislation was passed which supported and protected the pension rights of Chief Constables (The Police Superannuation Act 1865) but little else, leaving inefficient practices and poor employer support at the heart of policing. Apart from an ever-increasing list of duties associated with civil and social legislation, other key objectives identified by HMIC were apparently ignored by those whose role it was in society to catalyse change.

According to Critchley (1979, p.130) Sir Matthew Ridley, as parliamentary undersecretary for the Home Office, ordered that any paperwork that left the Home Office, and which was to be sent to police authorities; *'should be absolutely*

⁷⁴ In 1907 only 3 out of 44 Chief Constables in England had risen through the rank structure to this post. The others were recruited directly from the military.

⁷⁵ See as an example the case of John Syme in Appendix 5.

free from any taint of dictation or direction: the Inspectors may approach the local authorities, and lead them in the right direction - but it must be done with discretion'. This meant that the Inspectors continued to have little influence to ensure policing standards were improved, and could only monitor and make report on areas of the country, which were poorly policed, with little hope of the situation changing. It is not perhaps surprising that the Inspectors were subjected to levels of scorn and noted to be, by Sir William Harcourt in 1888 as; 'absolutely useless for the purposes for which they at present exist'⁷⁶.

It was hard for the Inspectors to align duties and responsibilities nationally for police officers however when, in some police boroughs, it was noted that the responsibilities of the Chief Constable were extensive and included, according to Whitmore (1984), and Ford (1969) the role of Billet Master, Chief of the Borough Fire Brigade, Inspector of Nuisances, and Inspector of Contagious Diseases. They also held reporting duties for the 1907 Butter and Margarine Act, the Hackney Carriages Act, the Food and Drugs Act, Explosives legislation, the Petroleum Acts and laws relating to Common Lodging Houses and the Dairy and Cowsheds Act.

The difficulties experienced by the Inspectors in re-organising the police forces in England and Wales were symptoms of a broader malaise which was situated within the administrative processes of local government, local and national politics and their dynamic interplay locally, regionally and nationally

⁷⁶ Noted in Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, CCCXXVII, column 1053

between Liberal dissent and Tory establishment. At this time developments in Social Housing, Health and Education were all apparently caught in a similar dynamic. The Local Government Act 1888 finally provided a suitable government response to a number of these concerns as it transferred responsibility to the newly formed County Councils for the *administration* of local police forces; whilst ensuring that the *judicial* elements of the role remained under the control of local magistrates. So successful was this process that by 1890 all six of the original aims of the Inspectorate had been fulfilled.

From 1856 to 1956 English society continued to reinforce boundaries of class and power and be generally fearful of changes to perceived social stability. Whilst the status quo was maintained by the wealth generated by industry and colonial interests, political challenges to this balance came in the demand for universal suffrage and equal rights.

The affect and subsequent impact of global conflict wrought by WWI and WWII, motivated demands for societal change by the more *disruptive* elements of the lower classes, whilst the bourgeoisie reinforced their jingoistic concerns about revolution, anarchy overseas and revolutionary socialism at home.

- The end of an era? Preparing for the new policing

Having formerly reviewed literature from socio-historical and geopolitical sources in order to reflect the evolution of community and the developments of community policing responses to crime and disorder; the following section, will

consider some of the key themes of more recent history which have brought into sharp focus the tensions between;

- a) The sometimes contradictory expectations of national and local government about the police role,
- b) The police's own appreciation of their role.
- c) The expectations of policing and justice of both the pre-existing and new migrant communities of England.

- Policing communities between the wars

From the early 1900s police officers had been used to patrol strikes and factories in war time (including the General Strike of 1926) but in 1918 and 1919 they were forced into strike action themselves, demanding improved pay and conditions (Cronin 1982). The government seeing this as potentially a risk to national security, made police trade unions and industrial action unlawful for serving officers under the terms of the Police Act 1919. In perspective this action can be seen in relation to broader government concerns about security, which originally became manifest in 1889⁷⁷ with the creation of the Official Secrets Act.

Section 2 of the Act dealt with the concept of *breach of official trust*, this meant that a police officer could be prosecuted for discussing any

⁷⁷ This Act was updated in 1911;1920;1939 and 1989

information to which they may have become privy as a result of their duties,⁷⁸ to any person outside the official organisational structures. This Act immediately changed the *social status* of the police constable within the community, as it meant that more common social engagement, *chit chat* and communication about daily life between police constables and their friends and family, became more formally restricted. Under the auspices of the Desborough Committee (1919) the Home Office was able to exert influence over local authorities in order to improve police wages and conditions. As the result, the status of police officers in society was upgraded from that of an *unskilled or agricultural worker* to that of a *semi-professional*.

- *Gender*

Social, geographical, gender and class mobility increased during this time as a result of educational opportunity and technological innovation. This included the formal introduction of female police constables who were recruited in WW1 to monitor the behaviour of women and children, and ensure that the conduct of the women who were working in munitions factories was appropriate to the task. This was in significant contrast to the police interaction with women pre-war, as many of the new women police officers came from the ranks of the women's suffrage

⁷⁸ This was additionally reinforced by a common law criminal offence of *Misconduct in a Public Office*.

movement, which had been most cruelly treated and *man-handled* by the police during the years of pre-war protest.

As only one female officer, Edith Smith, who served in Lincolnshire, was actually granted powers of arrest at that time (1915) any infringements of the law had to still be dealt with by male officers. Whilst post war, female officers were granted more policing powers they were still expected to take only a minor role within policing duties and served as police 'women' in police women's departments. These departments nationally were expected to deal with issues principally associated with women and children. Imbalances within society associated with gender were particularly reflected within policing which was still seen to be a *man's job*.

Perhaps this belief was not surprising as even after the introduction of the welfare state in 1945 the administration of government support was based upon mainly gendered lines with the distribution of funds derived from the fathers role within a *traditional* family structure, where men were the breadwinners and women worked in the home (Pedersen 1993). This situation continued until the mid-1970s with changes in equality legislation but in spite of an *opportunity* to be treated as equal to males as a result of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975, and policy proposals such as the 'Gender Agenda'⁷⁹ (BAWP2000) within policing nationally, female officers continued to suffer from the impact of the police culture and gender stereotypes (Heidensohn 1996; Fielding 1989; Waddington 1999; Brown 2000).

⁷⁹ And subsequent iterations Gender Agenda 2 and 3

Women officers were seen by their male counterparts as either 'bikes' or 'dykes' derogatory terms referring to sexuality as opposed to ability in post

The case of Alison Halford,⁸⁰ who served as a senior female police officer in Merseyside police, is an example of the poor treatment of women in service. Miss Halford claimed in 1997, that she had been subjected to sexual discrimination and that her telephone had been unlawfully tapped by her police bosses. These accusations resulted in a payment of compensation⁸¹ in an out of court settlement; her resignation from post and a subsequent case which was heard in the European Court of Human Rights. Poor management practices and behaviour prone to personal bias, it appeared, continued to be perpetuated within the police service, mirroring the treatment noted in the cases of John Syme and Superintendent Dore in the early days of policing⁸².

According to Blok and Brown (2005) this discriminatory behaviour still persists in responses to incident management which they suggest is mirrored in the public value of the input of women officers to resolve community problems.

⁸⁰It was suggested at the time that Miss Halford would be a likely candidate to become the country's first female Chief Constable

⁸¹ Halfords experiences were subsequently reflected in her autobiography 'No way up the greasy pole' (1993)

⁸² See Appendix 5 and 5(a)

- *Race*

Reminiscent of the problematic issues associated with gender, the mid-20th century would also see the awkward beginnings of a more formal police engagement with some of the *new communities* of this country. Whilst England had for a number of centuries experienced migration into the country and formal immigration from the country, notably to Australia and New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s, this had been hard to *visibly* quantify by the English communities themselves and was perceived to be a trickle of mainly white European refugees in war time (by the media) who would undoubtedly return to their homeland once peace was restored. Regrettably, over many centuries in some communities of England there was an inherent distrust of individuals whom they felt were different. Whilst faith had motivated periods of civil unrest, historical records additionally show that race was an additional catalyst to disharmony. Spindler (2012) notes, as an example, that Flemish speakers had been attacked and murdered in London during the peasant's revolt as far back as 1381. Continuous incidents of crime and hatred against in particular, the Romany, Jewish and Irish communities had been a matter of fact for many years but generally disregarded by the authorities.

As a result of the loss of life and physical damage to communities, caused by the war, in the 1940s, as a result of the need to re catalyse a diminished society, migration into the country from former British colonies such as India and the West Indies was encouraged by the British government. Some communities,

particularly those associated with the industrial centres of England, were thus enhanced by a diverse group of people who looked to Britain as providing opportunity for a new life. Thus the effects of two global conflicts, consequently *kick-started* and subsequently moulded communities into a modern English society in which policing continued to evolve.

2.16 Context to Modern Community Policing

Policing Diversity- acknowledging societal change

During the 1950s post war police officers, many of whom had perceptions about migrants based upon colonial stereotypes, were generally unprepared to deal with new communities of; *'dark-faced migrants, whose alien cultures and lifestyles posed a threat to traditional standards and values'*.⁸³ (Whitfield, 2006).

In contrast migrants to the UK post war had a number of misperceptions about life in England which were largely based on their experiences of colonial society and, as a result, according to Special Branch reports produced at the time, were ill prepared and naive about their future lives as British citizens (Whitfield *ibid*). For some, according to a Police Commissioners Conference held in 1954, colonialism, *'had bred a traditional feeling of resentment towards the police as being the strong arm of the imperial power'* (Whitfield 2007). For others, who formerly looked to colonial policing processes to settle personal disputes, it was a shock to find that the *British Bobby* directed them to civil law to resolve their

⁸³ According to Cyril Osborne and Norman Pannell who were Members of Parliament.

problems. Unaware that this was a common policing policy nationally it was at the time seen by migrants as a form of racial discrimination, particularly as the police appeared to be ignoring concerns which the migrants felt it was their duty to resolve. It is worth noting that victims of domestic abuse at this time were also advised to seek civil redress for criminal behaviours by the police, as part of police policy.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, prior to the introduction of race relations and equality legislation, migrants who had for example, expected police support when they were refused services or were denied employment or accommodation because of their ethnicity, did not expect police inactivity and civil detachment. Unfortunately, as officers stuck to the letter of their remit, this is what they found.

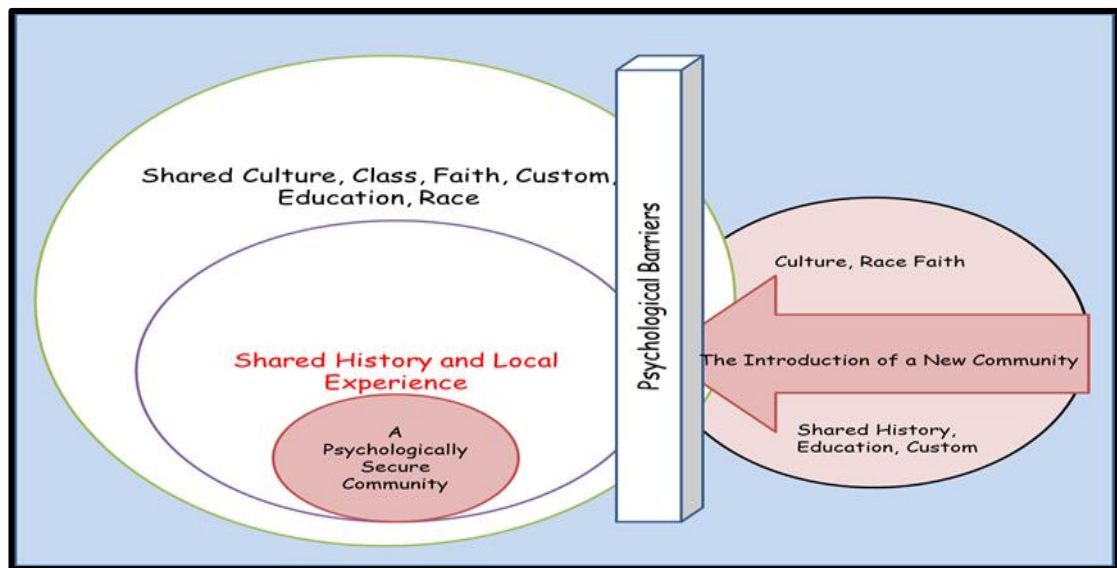
Unsurprisingly, reports to the Home Office from local police forces in 1953, 1955 and 1957 indicated that the *assimilation* of immigrant members of local communities was unsatisfactory. Blame for this lack of integration was laid by the police squarely at the feet of members of Black and Asian communities, who were accused of lacking in '*education, social intercourse and cultural knowledge*' (Whitfield 2007). No credit for these poor levels of assimilation was given to the animosity and anti-migrant feelings of the white British communities living in areas in which the migrants attempted to settle. Indeed, it is suggested by a number of researchers that the whole process of integration was poorly handled from the outset with deficient levels of communication, misinformation and cultural

misunderstandings becoming the norm within both white and migrant populations (Gilroy 1987; O'Byrne 2001; Paul 1997; Walters 1997; Whitfield 2004; 2007).

It is generally implied that the lack of mutual information and understanding, exaggerated the general psychological barriers inherent in processes of community development. Theories of community associated with *Place, Interest and Communion* (Willmott 1986; Lee and Newby 1983; and Crow and Allen 1995), identify the commonalities within the shared experience that help to develop community attachment or spirit. Community groups, native British and migrant British, began to cling to and reassert their own history of experience; engaging as networks within location, social interest and employment only within specific necessary environs. Even influences such as a shared geographical location (or home address/neighbourhood) did not mean that interaction and engagement would be the result (Lee and Newby 1983, p.57).

The following diagram indicates the types of influences or attractants that would reinforce social and community ties but which might also underpin the psychological barriers of ignorance, distrust and prejudice which are negatively associated with *Tolerance* (Walzer 1997:11); *Reciprocity* (Putnam 2000) and *Trust* (Putnam 1993; Coleman 1990).

Figure 2.5: Examples of Barriers to the Psychological Accommodation of the New British Communities 1950s- date



Noting that there was a distinct lack of understanding of the new communities and their different cultures and in order to redress the balance, the Commissioner of the West Indies Federation Mr Garnet Gordon approached Sir Joseph Simpson, the then Metropolitan Police Commissioner, offering to provide cultural awareness training for police officers in London. This proposal was firmly rejected. The only senior police officer who appeared to feel at the time, that this development of police community relations might have been a good idea was Sir Robert Mark the Chief Constable of Leicester, who was later to become Commissioner of Police in London.

Police officers continued to view these new communities with levels of suspicion, which began to rise, as new migrant communities began to flex their cultural and social roots, as they began to settle into their new environment.

This led Sir Peter Imbert, a former Metropolitan Police Commissioner, to later write;

'It's often been said that the young Caribbean youth had a street culture, whereas the indigenous youth didn't have a street culture in quite the same way. I think that we in the police didn't understand that. When we saw black youth hanging around street corners we couldn't understand why. We automatically thought - quite wrongly, of course - on every occasion that they were up to no good. But that was because of a lack of understanding of their culture and their way of life'. (Whitfield, 2007p. 4)

In 1958 the first racial disturbances in modern Britain were recorded in Nottingham and Notting Hill London. A year later, the racially motivated murder of Kelso Cochrane shocked British society and led to an investigation into race relations chaired by Amy Ashwood Garvey, a co-founder of the Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. In the aftermath of these incidents community leaders of minority groups urged their communities to support policing initiatives by becoming Special Constables. Whilst this added to the increasing political support for the recruitment of full time Black and Asian officers it did little to break down the barriers of intolerance in the police force. Police Officers it appears were reluctant to accept any changes to a mainly white, male dominated structure. It would therefore be an understatement to state that recruits to the police force from the new communities, as a consequence, had a difficult time in post. Many were subjected to insult and abuse because of their

ethnicity; which was perceived by the white officers as harmless 'banter'. Black officers as an example, were nicknamed 'Matt' by their colleagues and if more than one black officer was on a shift the other would be called 'Gloss'. Black and Minority Ethnic or *BAME* recruits were additionally ostracised by their own communities and called *coconuts* (black on the outside white on the inside).

Concerns about the behaviour of the police were to become more politically challenging when officers from two borough forces were prosecuted for corruption. Underlying tensions between Watch Committees, local government and Chief Constables were subsequently scrutinised which resulted in the suspension of the Chief Constable of Nottingham, Athelstan Horn Popkess, by his Watch Committee, for refusing to release details of an investigation into financial irregularities of local government. A Royal Commission was established in 1959 by Harold Macmillan, the Conservative Prime Minister, to consider issues around police accountability. This group published a number of recommendations, some of which were to be later housed within the 1964 Police Act. It was at this time that academic observers began to more significantly comment upon the potentially detrimental nature of work related culture of Police Officers (Banton 1964; Hughes 1962; Bittner 1967; Skolnick 1966; Cain 1971; Westley 1970).

2.17 *The 1960s*

Historically the 1960s was a time of significant change. The post war gloom had lifted and with the end of rationing in 1954, there was more opportunity for society to again obtain the goods and services that had formerly been only available to the affluent, or those willing to use the black market. Similarly this was a time of feminism, the contraceptive pill and the potential for community radicalisation. People were apparently no longer willing to accept what they were given (or told) and ideas of personal freedom extended from speech to the self. Individualism rather than the collective unity of the Dunkirk spirit was paramount.

By the 1960s local communities began more clearly to reflect a more diverse population mix. However policies of successive governments to reaffirm concepts of ethnic separateness, as opposed to greater integration, were reflected in the half-hearted and belated measures to legislate against racial discrimination. In a 1960 study of police community relations⁸⁴ undertaken by the Metropolitan Police force, the senior officer responsible for the Brixton area of London noted that;

'the coloured' population in the area were fairly well behaved and, provided that the younger, irresponsible, white element could be kept away from the 'coloured' areas, racial disorder would be prevented' (Whitfield 2007, p.4).

⁸⁴ This study looked at relations between *'white and coloured persons'*.

Members of this largely *well behaved community* were later to respond explosively to the actions of the local police, *as opposed to, the irresponsible white element*, as a result of Operation Swamp in the 1980s⁸⁵.

Tensions between white and black communities were exacerbated by political rhetoric, such as the speech made by Enoch Powell in 1968, in which he alluded to Virgil's *Aeneid* stating; '*As I look ahead I am filled with foreboding, like the Roman, I seem to see the River Tiber foaming with much blood*'.

This catalysed some members of the white population to commit racial attacks against members of the new communities and again placed the police in the middle of racial community tensions. According to Goodhart (2013, p. 144);

'Just when a discussion should have been starting about integration, racial justice and distinguishing the reasonable from the racist complaints of the white people whose communities were being transformed, he (Powell) polarised the argument and closed it down'.

In the following years the Metropolitan Police developed a *Community Relations* section which, whilst its intended purpose was that of building bridges between the police and local *hard to reach* and other communities, appeared in contrast to spend time gathering information or 'intelligence' about these communities upon which future police operations might be based. This work was seen largely as an attempt to displace the potential for complaint.

⁸⁵ See Appendix 6 (a).

According to research undertaken within the Metropolitan Police Force in the late 1960s the concepts involved in engaging with communities were generally not understood by police officers whose measurement of occupational success had formerly been based on the detection of crime and prosecution of offenders against the public peace, not the development of positive relationships with local communities' (Whitfield 2007, p.5). This situation was compounded by the lack of willingness of many officers to change their attitudes and behaviours towards minority groups. Sir Robert Mark recalled later that he found that senior officers in the Metropolitan Police Force felt that they had little or nothing to learn from any organisation outside the 'Met' about policing matters (Whitfield 2007, p.6)

Whilst recognising the need for change at a time of *Cold War* global unrest the government felt that procedures to enable greater control over local communities needed to be embedded within the management of the police. Such processes were necessary in order to prevent the possibility of locally based *subversives* retaining and extending their influences over law and order. The role of the police was therefore under scrutiny; the government subsequently commissioned a review of their responsibilities, role and function in a modern society.

Whilst the Willink Commission (1962) accepted that society required the police to focus on building public support, it was suggested that this would be largely achieved by the reduction of crime. In order to facilitate the dual goals of

change and control, the government amended the procedures associated with the management of policing locally within the Police Act (1964) which outlined specific responsibilities of new Police Authorities, proposed the amalgamation of resources by abolishing some smaller police forces and began a process of detachment of responsibility for police behaviour from the local to the national.

In continuance of a long tradition, the police forces of England and Wales had been controlled as autonomous units by local committees with appointed Chief Constables at their head. Very little, it appeared, had changed over the centuries with generally those local more influential members of communities retaining overall control. The introduction of the Police Act transformed the status quo nationally; additionally changing the control of the Metropolitan Police which now became responsible to government under the direct control of the Home Secretary. Additional provisions of the Act developed the foundation for lodging and investigating complaints against the police. These had formerly been examined in a largely haphazard and inappropriate way by local forces which led, as a consequence, to few prosecutions of officers guilty of offending against the public and further distrust of the law, in particular, by ethnic and other minority groups.

Whilst new legislation such as the Abortion and Sexual Offences Acts, which came into the legislature in 1967, recognised new freedoms and changes in the nation's moral compass, the government was still apprehensive of losing control, fearing subversion at all levels within society. External threats to safety

and security in the time of the Cold War (real or imagined) from the Soviet Union and communism meant that the government prepared in earnest for Nuclear Armageddon and imagined in 1964 that Britain would be the victim of a soviet strike involving nuclear weapons. (James 2000, pp. 152-168)

In addition to changes within the nature of community, from the 1950s to the 1970s there was a need for the police to develop *operationally* to cope with the emergent complexity of crime and society. This was largely influenced and facilitated by the wider use of technology and transport, but it was also demanded as essential by the police's political masters at the Home Office, who now needed to ensure that police actions would result in the reduction of increasing levels of crime in order to meet promises made to society post Willink. Thus, politicians from all political backgrounds wanted to be able to state that the police force was providing value for money. To the police, this meant business as usual, as Whitfield (2007, p.5) discusses the result of internal research within the Metropolitan Police which suggested that they; *'... did not have a great deal of sympathy or understanding with the needs of local communities having instead; a blinkered view of community relations in which the police function was seen purely in terms of law enforcement; and a reluctance to see any benefit in what were regarded as social work matters like community relations'*⁸⁶.

⁸⁶ Racial awareness training did not begin in the larger police forces until 1964 and even then it is suggested that it was tokenistic in nature.

Out of a concurrent political debate generated by the Conservative party, there was a refocus upon monetarist policies which fixed upon economic value within public organisations. This was to lead to the doctrine of the free economy and according to Long (2003) an introduction by government of audit procedures to review the work of public sector employees, e.g. nurses, teachers and police officers, in order to reduce bureaucratic public sector practices.

Based on this doctrine there was to emerge a new form of governance, known as the New Public Management (NPM) (Keynes 1953) which would, when applied to the Police Force, it was suggested, provide a transformation worthy of Cinderella's Fairy Godmother. In order to achieve this, the principals of management were adopted, which were being productively applied in other areas of society, and which were *apparently* being successfully employed by the police in the USA. For the police in Britain this involved the more formal development of expert units within policing, who were trained to deal with areas of special police interest such as; traffic, drugs, juvenile offenders or vice (Peak and Barthe 2009). For non-specialist officers, other police work would thus become standardised and routine, meaning that it was possible to reduce levels of discretion and provide beat officers with targets for arrest and law enforcement.

In order to improve performance there was now a need to focus on rapid response, as opposed to the more accessible beat patrols which provided a visible deterrent against crime - but only in conjunction with other policing procedures. As a result of these developments a number of former beat officers in each force

areas, who had possibly spent years learning about their communities, became 'mobile' and were dispatched in *panda cars* to deal with incidents over wide areas, without really knowing much about the context to the incident or the impact that offending might have on local people. According to Braiden (1993) these officers were supposed to; *'park their brains at the door of the stationhouse, and follow orders like a robot.'* Other police work in contrast would thus become standardised and routine, meaning that beat officers would be required to meet targets for arrest and general law enforcement. As Wright (2000, p. 91) later acknowledged; *'In policing, modern rational management has been promoted as the method through which an economical, efficient and effective police is to be achieved'.*

In Leicestershire, police officers often found themselves caught up with some of the more bureaucratic aspects of this basic concept, as police managers looked to opportunities to further cut costs and make savings, by reducing the distance that a police vehicle was permitted to travel per shift when officers were on duty⁸⁷. Officers were warned that they would be personally penalised if their vehicles were 'over used' within a shift, but were still expected to respond to emergencies over some distance. Their requirement to initially respond, react to the incident and progress on to the next call meant that community involvement continued to be seen as secondary to performance. In contrast to the reality, politicians and senior police officers believed that a more effective process of

⁸⁷ This comment and its explanation was provided by a retired Leicestershire officer who served in Leicestershire in the 1960s and 1970s.

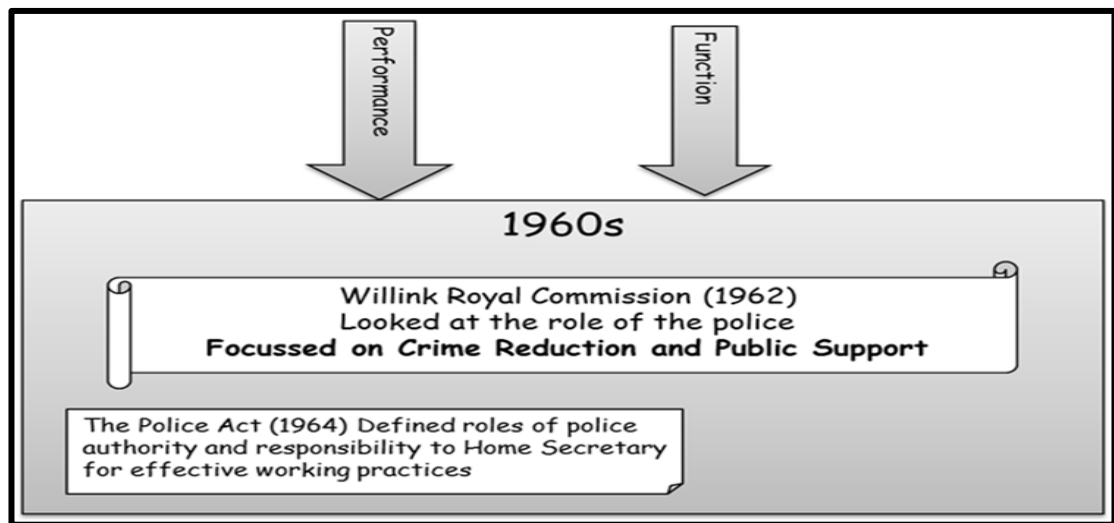
crime management would surely be the result of this drive towards professional policing, which was an apparently more efficient system.

The record of police practice within recent history and research suggests that whilst modern community based policing initiatives provide a more community orientated service; the impact of the damage caused by the introduction of an arguably more efficient, but increasingly community-detached organisation of professional policing processes, introduced in this period, remains today.

In the 1950s and 1960s (when the theory of NPM found its way from the private to the public sector) members of the public sector, particularly those involved in policing, genuinely believed themselves to be outside the influence of the 'economist', feeling that their role in society was sacrosanct. Successive governments however, began to demand reviews of policing which would separate the concepts of the policing requirement (or *need*) and its methods of working (or *function*) in order to better manage the economics involved.

The following diagram highlights the *post Keynesian* requirements of the police in the 1960s as government began to consider the requirements and function of the police force at a time of significant social change. Note the combined ethos of function and performance within the community.

Figure 2.6 Key documents which influenced the performance requirement and function of the Police in the 1960s



Whilst the Wilson Labour government of the early 1970s began to look at ways to control society it still believed that the erosion of individual freedoms was unacceptable and found objectionable for example, the proposals made at that time to curb immigration by introducing *identity cards*. There was still a belief that government was elected to support those more vulnerable members of society, a concept which had first been identified with the development of the welfare state. By the mid-1970s however it was understood that such commitments were a drain on public resources and that public spending within heavily bureaucratic, public focussed organisations such as the National Health Service (NHS) or the Police Force undermined the potential for the growth of more efficient cost-effective private organisations

It appeared that public services were no longer seen for the value provided as a supplier or supporter of public welfare, but as organisations which must be assessed and measured according to outputs. Linked to this process was the establishment of a Police Complaints Board within the Police Act of 1976.

In spite of improvements to training processes in diversity noted by HMIC in their Annual Reports, by 1978, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector was forced to admit that as far as the Metropolitan Police were concerned, that, *'It would be futile to deny that there is a problem and that relations [with the black community] are not as good as they might be in some parts of the country.'* (Whitfield 2006)

It now seemed that a fundamental lack of appreciation of the needs of diverse communities might become further exacerbated by a focus on performance. The concept of performance management is based on providing the customer with whatever he or she desires at the right price at the right time, the subsequent rewards to the service provider are based on an effective level of performance linked to customer satisfaction. These are often linked to records of measurement or points of achievement known as *'Key Performance Indicators'* or KPI's which help an organisation decide the most effective route to achieve their organisational goals and indicate within measurement markers as to whether they are meeting them. For the measurement of policing efficacy however, performance targets were principally associated with numbers of arrests or actions associated with the reduction of types of recorded crimes in specific

locations. An example of the negative impact of this policy is to be found in the policing response to levels of street robbery in Brixton London in 1981 -Operation Swamp⁸⁸.

2.18 *Performance and Policing*

Larbi (1999) explains the concepts within the 'New Public Management' (NPM) or Managerialist theory in his discussion about its efficacy and application to 'Crisis States'. He quotes Moore et al. (1994, p.13) stating, *'The central feature of NPM is the attempt to introduce or simulate, within those sections of the public service that are not privatized, the performance incentives and the disciplines that exist in a market environment..'*

Within such measures are aspects of 'performance contracting' whereby state owned organisations agree to deliver public services against quantifiable targets which are; *'explicitly specified for a given period and performance is measured against targets at the end of the period'* (World Bank, 1995, p.171).

The intention of the process is to measure performance against results, rather than, *'conformity with bureaucratic rules and regulations'* (Mallon, 1994; Islam, 1993). Research into policing at this time indicated that on occasion this focus tended to be on adherence to the rules as opposed to results.

⁸⁸ A more detailed description of context associated with these events is to be found in Appendix 6(a).

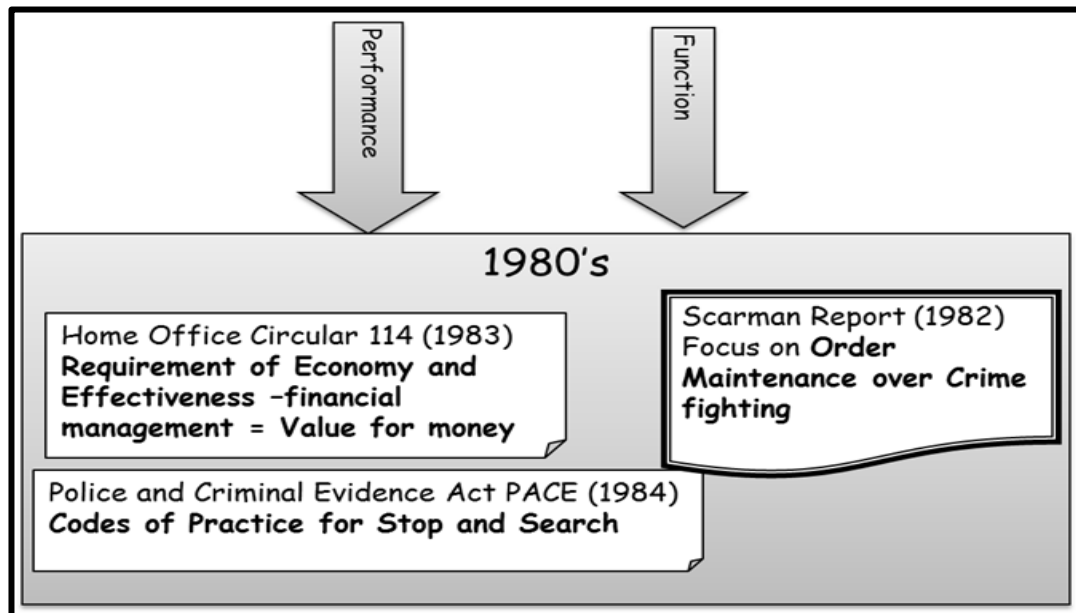
To apply the principles of the New Public Management to any public organisation is not easy, but to apply it to the police in the 1980s-90s was, it might be argued only made possible because of a 'trade off' between the political pressures to nationalise the police force and the demands from senior ranks and local police authorities to retain autonomy.

Researchers involved in studying the role and function of the police organisation (*force or service*) hold the general opinion that; *'Performance Management in the police service is a complex matter' because of the absence of a clear purpose and clear expectations about what it should deliver'* (Neyroud and Beckley 2001, p.94). The further *politicisation* of policing, driven by the extreme right wing policies of the 1980s, which became manifest in their role in the miners strikes, began to change the practices associated with their function (or purpose), simultaneously compelling a more demanding performance requirement. This transformed the national expectations of policing (identified by their traditional roles) and made direct links with the requirements of government policy which now additionally demanded the integration of a tool to measure the *value* of each police force both in terms of economic cost and performance delivery in order to gauge worth.

A series of reports, policies and formal government requirements were subsequently generated which reflected the changes expected by the government in order to change the economic value (performance) and role (function) of the

police. The following diagram indicates how key reports and guides associated with policing in the 1980s began to directly impose these changes.

Figure 2.7: Key policy influences over the performance requirement and function of the police in the 1980s



According to the definition of organisational structure by Mintzberg (1979, p.2) measures of that structure should reflect the manner in which the organisation coordinates and divides labour. In 1983 The Home Office, the government department responsible for the police proposed in Circular 114, that public sector organisations should be working towards 'economy, efficiency and effectiveness' (Home Office 1983). This meant that they should be focussing on outputs towards a measurable conclusion (or product) rather than inputs. The ultimate but silent aim of this proposed efficient practice undoubtedly, was the amalgamation of the police forces within England and Wales.

Political challenges to the structure of policing were quietened by the robust defence of their independently controlled force areas by the Chief Constables who at the time were able to put this particular *sleeping tiger* to rest with an effective dose of their own politicking and influence.

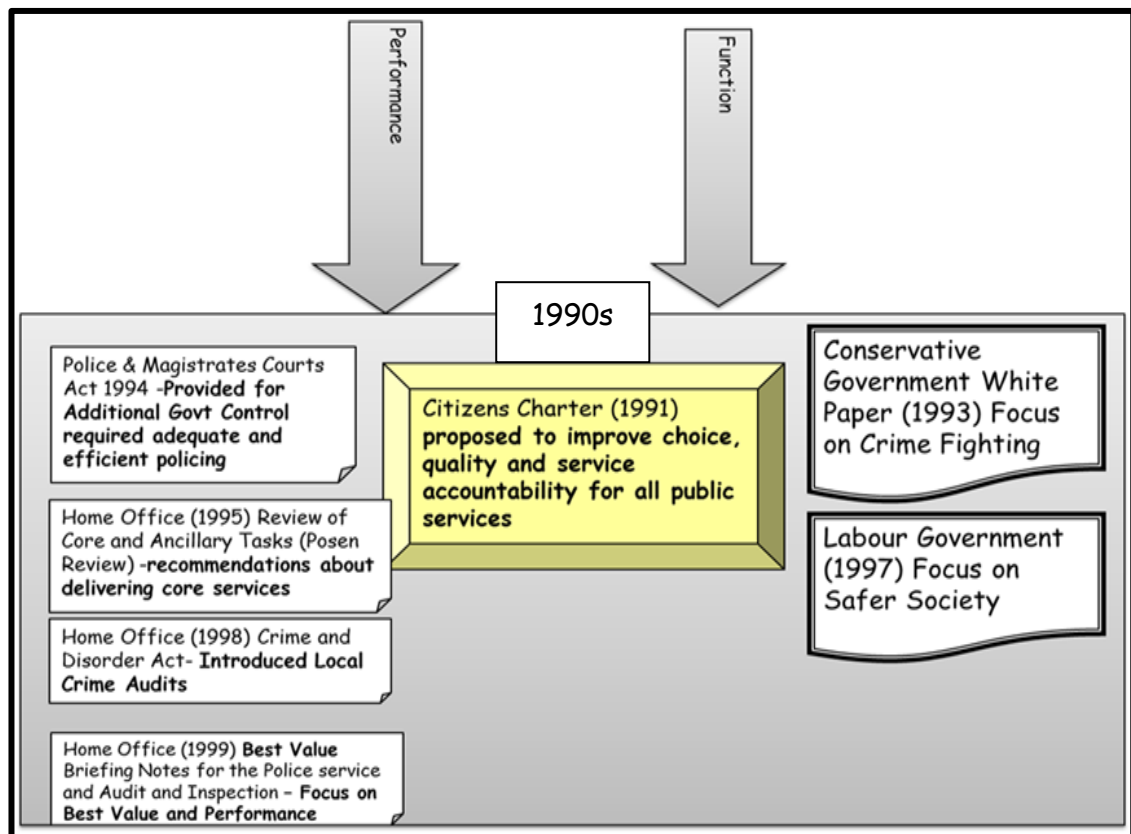
The Conservative government had already used their power to politicise the police in that they were being used more readily to subdue political and community protest such as those which arose as a consequence of the miners' strike (1984); and the Brixton riots (1981). The resulting community/ police friction was widely debated with calls for changes to organisation, role and responsibility, (Bradley, Walker and Wilkie 1986; Chan 1996; 1997; Johnston 2003; Johnston and Shearing 2003; Manning 1977; 1979; Punch 1983; Shearing and Wood 2003; Wood 2004). This led to changes in legislation which, in the case of the Brixton riots, directly effected police procedures and resulted in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE).

The subsequent development of legislation, such as the Police and Magistrates Courts Act 1994, meant that police autonomy as public servants and responsibilities to local communities was placed under threat; effectively providing for greater government control. In the same year this caused the then Chair of ACPO (The Association of Chief Police Officers) Sir John Smith to state; *'I am inclined to the view that we are witnessing a move, perhaps unintended, for national control of the police by central government'* (Jones and Newburn 1995).

Policing began to be looked at through a microscope by the politician and commentator alike with the publication of a variety of reports which considered amongst other aspects of the role; police responsibilities and rewards (Sheehy Report 1993) and police core and ancillary tasks (Posen Inquiry 1995). The aim of these reports was to develop a policing culture which would be based upon performance and become detached from the idea of policing being a secure job for life.

Figure 2.8 indicates the development of greater political control over policing as evidenced by policy and legislation associated with performance but additionally highlights a *consumer facing service* whose function it was to keep communities safe by fighting crime. It should be noted that the Citizen's Charter (1991) in which the government made a number of promises to the public (on behalf of the police service) about police responses and behaviours towards community interests combined elements of both performance requirements and functional duties.

Figure 2.8: Key drivers for and influence over the performance requirement and function of the police in the 1990s



Whilst the Conservative government of the early 1990s focussed upon the crime fighting role of the police, which included the suppression of possible civil unrest, by the late 1990s with the impact of the new Labour government reforms came the idea of being, 'tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime'. This political strapline, generated by the Labour Party, directed the police to consider a wider role, which included public reassurance, and re-introduced the concept of a more community engaged service. The 'New Labour' government, driven by the contemporary market led economy, consolidated the performance requirements for the police which led to the 'Best Value Framework' (Home Office 1999) being

applied to the work of police authorities, who had already seen their responsibility and influence over the police reduced in favour of auxiliary government control. In July 2000 the Metropolitan police force, formerly unique in its lack of direct community control found that it, too, would be responsible to the public (the Metropolitan communities) via the newly formed Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA). Like other forces throughout the country it additionally found that government policies had begun to dismantle the framework of former police responsibilities and put many of them out to public tender. Services, which at one time were perceived as core to 'the business' such as prison escort duties and general patrolling became subject of what some commentators have dubbed the pluralisation of policing (Coxhead 2009), this assumed that personnel working in areas not formerly associated with the formal policing manifest, which included the civilian non warranted members of the newly regulated security industry, could be called upon to work in policing roles when deemed appropriate. This provided consumers with alternatives to formal policing processes if they felt that they would get a *value for money* service elsewhere.

Driven by monetarist policies such developments not only impacted upon the police but, by this time, all public agencies. Organisations within the criminal justice system as well as within health and social care for example, were encouraged to adopt the management principles of business rather than public service. This not only led to an appearance of accountability at local and national levels but encouraged the 'consumer' to 'shop' elsewhere if services were poor.

This principle is exemplified by the community of New Earswick, who decided that the local police did not provide value for money, and employed security guards to patrol locally (Crawford et al 2003).

The principles of business, reinforced by the processes involved in the theories of NPM were adopted by all public agencies, as the government continued the political trend to cut costs and provide a more efficient service to the public. Maguire (2002) indicates that government set organisational goals and employed internal change drivers that linked to improving efficiency and service for *consumers* as opposed to *citizens*. This linked to compulsory competitive tendering to cut costs, performance targets and public service agreements which further reduced opportunities for 'local control'. It appeared that the Labour government was committed to *control* the criminal justice system.

This is evidenced by the introduction of what has been termed 'knee jerk legislation', the restructuring of the system; particularly the introduction of the National Offender Management Service -'NOMS', and potential compromises made of human rights for the '*greater good*'. The responsibility to meet the requirements set by public policy was delegated to a number of organisations, which set groups against one another as competitors, to gain funding via the process of public tendering. Nationally, agency heads were provided with significant freedom as to how to implement changes. This, in some cases, meant that aspects of work expected to sit within an agency remit was sold off to private business. Organisations thus refocused upon 'core' and 'ancillary'

functions, which in some cases led to fragmentation. A general criticism of this process is that the overall focus lay in outcomes rather than outputs. Joyce (2006) provides an example of this as the 'vigorous' use of stop and search powers which may reduce crime but damage community relations in the process.

The Government White Paper, *'Policing a New Century a Blueprint for Reform'*, (Home Office 2001) highlighted the possible roles of new members of the wider police family, and continued a process of contracting out policing roles which was consolidated within the Police Reform Act (2002). Added to the debate was a concern, driven by the greater potential to access data via the internet, that government statistics might be disputed. This was catalysed by admittance by the public to sources of information supported by the Freedom of Information Act (2000).

Between 2004 and 2008 a number of statutory performance indicators, (SPI's) were introduced as a *performance audit measure* by the government. These diverse targets not only looked to service agreements outlined by policing plans and linked to detections and customer satisfaction, but additionally considered risk, correlated with external measures such as the British Crime Survey. However, even the British Crime Survey or Police Recorded Crime statistics could not be wholly relied upon to provide the accuracy required for government purposes. This caused the government to investigate the validity of some of the numbers that were being '*crunched*' in order to support policy (Smith 2006).

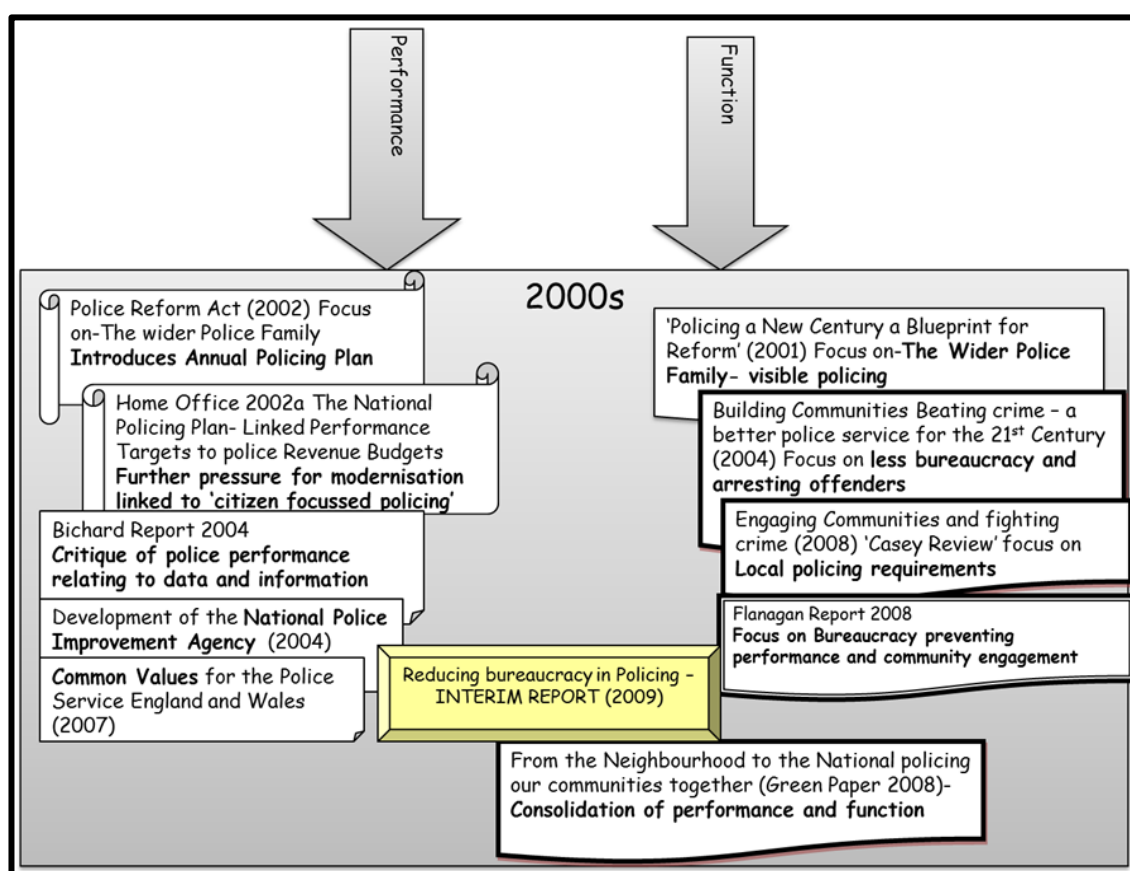
Anecdotal evidence suggests that in spite of an apparent drive by government to focus upon community needs, there continued to be an undercurrent which reinforced the message of performance above function; although there is an argument that proposes that they are one and the same. This consideration however does not apply uniquely to the police service but to the criminal justice process as a whole. The development of National Occupational Standards, or NOS, which were designed to initially provide a *tick box* approach to the definition of the duties and requirements of all organisations within the CJS, (and virtually most other roles within public facing organisations in the UK) reinforced the performance message. Each unit of a NOS included directions as to the required/expected levels of performance, an associated level of knowledge and understanding, the circumstance in which it might be applicable and the personal values and behaviours which should be exhibited by those working in the sector whilst working (SSDA 2007 a;b).

In a thematic review, 'Without Consent' (2007), the joint inspectors from the Police and Crown Prosecution Service noted that;

'Managing performance is about practical ways to improve how things are done in order to deliver better-quality services and improve accountability. It is not just about information systems, targets, indicators and plans. In the context of handling rape cases, it should mean ongoing quality assurance and analysing outcomes so that lessons are learned. It is also about getting the right focus, leadership and culture in place.'

The need for subsequent reviews of this type and the continued failures by organisations to respond reasonably to victims needs indicates that lessons have not been learned (Stern 2010). Figure 2:9 shows the introduction of some of the additional policies and procedures introduced by the government in the *new millennium* to direct changes to the performance and the function of community based policing strategies. In comparison with previous decades, this is indicative of a significant expansion of government controls resulting in reports, new research, regulation and guidance to improve police performance and function as part of a continual process of reform and change.

Figure 2.9 Influences of performance and function over police procedure from the start of the new millennium to 2009



Prior to the year 2000, government focus on the performance and function of the role of the police could be reflected by a trickle of policy. From the year 2000 onwards however, this began to be seen as a flood of additional auditable procedures and processes which were to be accommodated in the normal working schedules of the policing role. As might be anticipated, these additional levels of bureaucracy caused significant levels of frustration to serving officers who felt that they spent more time completing forms than on patrol (PA Consulting 2001). Some of these changes however were necessarily driven by responses to poor practice, such as the requirements noted as a result of the Bichard Report in 2004; whilst others appeared to be driven by more political motives, possibly associated with additional changes to police functions as a result of the development of consumer attitudes within a mixed market of police services (Loader 2001). Evidence from a review of the Metropolitan police in 2002 indicated that where there was poor public satisfaction with community policing, the situation was not helped by the rapid turnover of middle ranking staff at the level of Chief Inspector and Superintendent (HMIC 2002). The holders of ranks of Chief Inspector and Superintendent, who would traditionally fulfil the important roles of liaising with local community leaders and developing more positive responses to local problems, would be frequently moved in order to improve their career prospects or the needs of the service, often to the detriment of those of the local community.

Seven years after the publication of 'Diary of a Police Officer' (PA Consulting 2001), which identified the frustration of officers about the levels of unnecessary, bureaucratic, timewasting activities; HMIC's response, the Flanagan Report (2008) was driven by general *gripping* by the police about the lack of time to undertake front line duties because of an ever increasing mountain of red tape. This report proposed a number of recommendations which were designed to reduce bureaucracy, develop new working practices (Lean Principles) and 'mainstream' *Neighbourhood Policing*, a reinvented form of community policing.

Subsequently consolidated into policy these proposals were linked to a number of performance measures. In this case the measures were initially monitored by Jan Berry, a former Chair of the Police Federation, who became an appointed auditor, or the *Independent Reducing Bureaucracy Advocate*, of the government's anti-bureaucracy task force.

In her inaugural report she noted like Loader (ibid) that;

'a new industry is being built in police/public consultation. They recognise the need to greater understand and focus on local priorities, but think that some forces may be over-engineering this process. There is potential for this to generate additional, unnecessary bureaucracy and I intend to review further the extent and range of public consultation.'

(Berry 2009)

An example of this was the practice by some police forces to contact virtually everyone with whom they had been in contact to ask what the

respondents thought about their level of performance. Whilst this data was subsequently fed into countless surveys related to consumer satisfaction levels, few actions were subsequently undertaken to make improvements where public concerns had been highlighted. An example of the tragic consequences of police /multi-agency inactivity can be seen in the death of Francesca Hardwick in Leicester at the hands of her mother Fiona Pilkington in 2007, after years of victimisation by local youths (IPCC 2011).

The Police Performance Framework (PPAF) was succeeded by Assessments of Policing and Community Safety (APACs) a new performance framework, which subsequently introduced five measurable domain categories which covered a number of sub categories which were specified as indicators of policing and community safety; promoting safety, tackling crime, serious crime and protection, confidence and satisfaction and organisational management. The realignment of this system unfortunately still failed to provide a community responsive process.

2.19 *Reviewing the efficacy of 'NPM'*

Recent history provides us with an interesting perspective upon which we might base our understanding of this theory in action. If we begin by reminding ourselves of the principle drivers behind this theoretical construct as, the measurement of performance against results, rather than; 'conformity with bureaucratic rules and regulations' (Mallon, 1994; Islam, 1993), then it might be argued that the application of the New Management Theory to policing has not

been a success. It is incongruous that as a result of the government requirement, and subsequent enforcement of effective (measurable) practice intended to improve services, there appears to be more control measures, red tape and regulation than previously recorded. These procedures appear to have grown in conjunction with performance measures but act as a choking weed to restrict innovation and action.

As Uhr (2001) proposes;

'Democratic government rest on popular consent; accountability helps to sustain democracy by generating informed consent [...] in many cases, accountability strengthens public trust by confirming the competence and integrity of these power holders. In other cases of lapsed or broken accountability, the reverse can occur, weakening public confidence in power holders. Thus accountability is important to democratic societies in providing opportunities for those who govern and manage our affairs to account for, explain and justify their offices of power and influence'.

(Uhr 2001, p.446)

Davies and Thomas (2003) undertook what they termed a *discursive*⁸⁹ analysis of policing in the context of New Public Management and suggested as a result that the focus on performance was incompatible with *community orientated policing*. They argued that community policing naturally focuses upon the more

⁸⁹ Language and communication focussed

traditional feminine skills of communication and cite evidence from Heidensohn (1992); Reiner (1992); Fielding (1994); Gaston and Alexander (1995) and Walklate (2001) among others in support.

In contrast performance led policing, an essential component of the NPM ethos, appeals to the more masculine led cultures within the police. This provides for a focus on meeting targets and is based upon reactive policing techniques in crime detection, rather than the more proactive practice of reduction. The skills of 'building' and 'bonding' with communities in order to encourage community cohesion are subsequently negated.

In their conclusion, Davies and Thomas (2003) note that empirically the New Public Management is; *'far from cohesive'*. They additionally describe; *'how individuals, when facing discomfort, paradox and difference over their professional identities, may choose to accommodate, adapt or deny the subject positions offered. This takes place as individuals confront and reflect on their own identity performance and, in doing so pervert and subtly shift meanings and understandings'*. In endeavouring to meet the local requirements of 'Community' within the national demands of 'Performance,' compromises therefore have to be made.

In 2005, three years prior to the Flanagan Review, Dennis O'Connor working as HM Inspector of Constabulary described the need to dismantle policing systems which had become operationally ineffective; *'The findings are stark - very few forces assessed fully meet the required standard'* (O'Connor 2005, pp.2:1.10).

In addition to responding to future challenges associated with organised crime, domestic terrorism and domestic extremism he noted the need to respond to the public's concerns around risk, which would necessitate the further development of neighbourhood policing (ibid:1.7) Focusing on evidence of poor performance nationally, O'Connor argued for the need to increase performance monitoring processes whilst spreading resources equitably (nationally) to ensure that, particularly in relation to organised crime, responses were fit for purpose.

Audits of force configurations and activities indicated that, there was unnecessary duplication of staff roles and disproportionate responses to local and national requirements for police services. This it was stated evidenced the need to break away from established force structures which mirrored local government areas. The move towards '*strategic police organisations*' (ibid 1.39) would, at its most straightforward develop local and neighbourhood policing, but, at a more sophisticated level; would provide protective services, offer organisational support and strategic development. This was to be achieved by disassembling traditional structures and reconfiguring organisations to; '*enable affordable protective services to flourish without undermining existing strengths of local policing and local forces*' (ibid :1.47).

Whilst recommendations made within this paper did not at that time come to fruition, it is interesting to note the lack of engagement with local communities, within the debate, of what essentially would have changed the police service completely. Section 7 of the paper highlights the stakeholder consultation. It is

noted that out of the nine groups who were invited to contribute to this debate three comprised senior police officers. Amongst the responses highlighted within the report are comments from the *Chief Police Officers Staff Association (CPOSA)* that indicate self-serving interests:

'...The Chair and vice Chair of CPOSA were concerned about the lateness of engagement with the staff associationThey (the CPOSA) further noted with concern that the potential impact on conditions of service for chief officers had not been addressed to date' (ibid:7.8)

In contrast, commentary relating to public consultation reported in this paper appears to have been based on research undertaken in 2002 by Innes et al. *No other public consultation appears to be reflected in the paper.*

O'Connor states:

'Little or no work has been done on the ownership of local forces by members of the public. However, the work carried out as part of the reassurance agenda and the signal crimes research shows that people identify with a very discrete neighbourhood and that their requirement of the service is for an identifiable and named local officer and possibly a local supervisor. The opportunity to badge the police at a more local level needs further examination but would be facilitated by consistent and national livery standards with the ability to locally tailor. This would enable more local affinity, not less.'

This statement is rather dismissive of the value of public consultation, particularly, as O'Connor later notes the need for *Community affinity for*

integrated services (ibid:8.4); *Co-terminosity and Identity* (ibid: 8.7). This illustration provides an interesting reflection of the perception, even at the highest level of policing, that public need comes secondary to the requirement of police organisation and performance. This perception is reinforced by the lack of consultation with the people most effected by the proposed change, - the community at large. This indication is reflected in the findings of this research.

2.20 *Suggestions for Alternative Applications of Performance Management in Policing*

Allied with the principles of performance management and NPM theory, more recent debates have considered the potential for performance management processes, which consider the monitoring of professional and ethical standards, as opposed to the narrower perspective of the efficiency of the police against performance led goals. These principles link to guidance for police officers around their behaviours and decisions.⁹⁰

The *Virtuous Circle* relates to the ethical performance of policing. Within this construct there is the proposal that managed policing should endeavour to accommodate internal and external structures which more readily consider honesty and integrity as a foundation for future actions. Neyroud and Beckley (2001, p.220) state that; '*good policing in the twenty first century requires more*

⁹⁰ See as an example the National Police Intelligence (and Decision Making) Models figure 4.2

than "good performance". It needs a renewal of contract between police officer and the citizen'.

This performance focuses on the reflective practitioner role, as proposed by Kolb's (1976) experiential learning cycle, to identify what is important to society, in this example human rights, and transform itself within a learning/ experience/ reflection role in order to *Check, Improve, Plan and Do*.

The two following diagrams provide exemplars of Neyroud and Beckleys Virtuous Cycle (2001) and Kolbs Experiential Cycle (1976) as a comparison.

Note that reinforcing stimulants are cyclically determined and provide in both situations opportunity for personal and professional improvement

Figure 2:10 The Virtuous Circle and its context.

Source: Neyroud and Beckley (2001, p. 219)

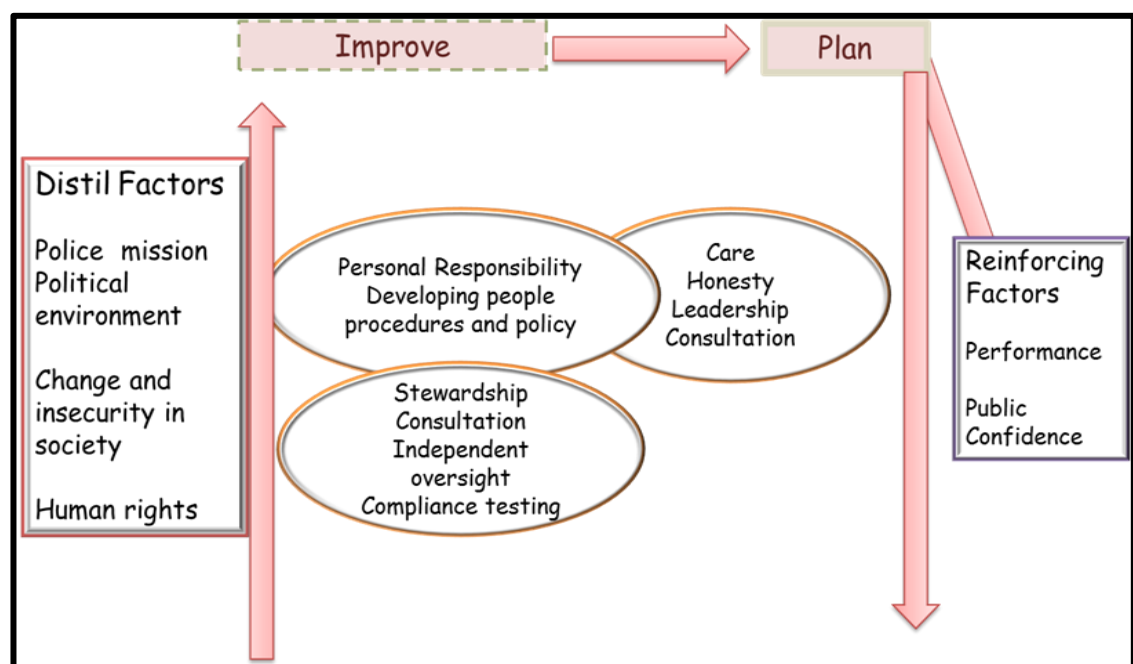
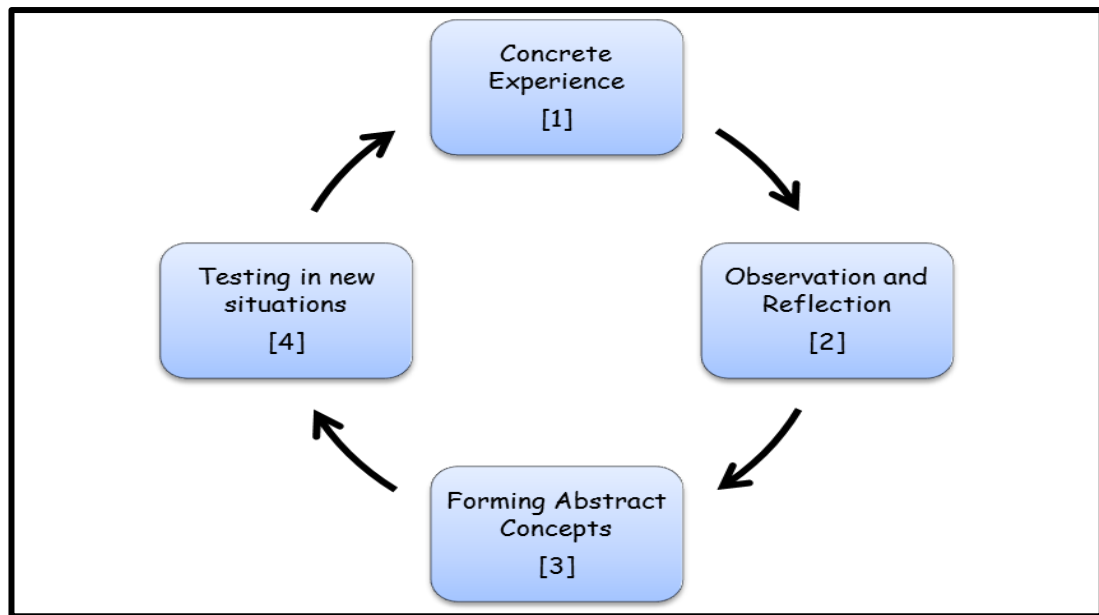


Figure 2:11 The Experiential Learning Cycle -Source: Kolb (1976)



2.21 Policing in times of Change and Instability?

The history of community based policing has as this chapter has suggested, like the shifting nature of the community itself, reflected constant change and instability. With the advent of social media and the World Wide Web however, society has become better informed and more able to voice their disquiet about police behaviours which they feel contravene their personal freedoms and breach the social contract. As a consequence such disquiet can immediately gather followers as Loader (2006) notes;

'Every stop, every search, every arrest, every group of youths moved on, every abuse of due process, every failure to respond to call or complaint, every racist ... sexist ... homophobic (comment), every diagnosis of the crime problem,

every depiction of criminals - all these send small, routine, authoritative signals about societies conflicts, cleavages and hierarchies about whose claims are considered legitimate within it, about whose status identity is to be affirmed or denied as part of it'

(Loader 2006, p. 211)

Whilst standards and procedures associated with performance appear to have monopolised the development of policing this century, there has continued to be a steady rise in the willingness for members of the public to legitimately voice their dis-satisfaction of policing processes. Focusing on concepts of *procedural justice*, a number of scholars, including those whose affiliations are linked to the work of the College of Policing, Myhill and Quinton for example, have questioned the efficacy of policing under conditions motivated by NPM and have consequently evidenced the need for change (Tyler & Huo 2002; Sunshine & Tyler 2003; Reisig et al. 2000; Tankebe, 2009; Reisig et al 2007; Hough et al. 2010).

Based on the definition of *Police Legitimacy* proposed by Tankebe (2013), Jackson and Kuha (2015, pp. 22-23) have statistically modelled and accordingly mapped the dynamics of police community relations based on data gathered by the National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA) in 2009. They note that positively received public initiated contact with the police is related to a higher willingness to cooperate with them. They additionally highlight an affiliation between the public trust in police fairness and a willingness to cooperate, which they suggest has a stronger statistical effect than trust in police effectiveness. The belief

that the police are procedurally fair, according to Tankebe (2013), underlines their legitimacy within society. This can only be evidenced when; *'institutions demonstrate to citizens that they are effective, fair and lawful, and when citizens acknowledge this. At the aggregate, then, when the police demonstrates their trustworthiness (to be effective, fair and lawful) and citizens believe that the police are effective, fair and lawful, then this constitutes a right and proper basis of power and authority'*. (Jackson and Kuha 2015, p.25)

According to Tankebe (2013, p.121); *'...effectiveness has to be viewed as a component of legitimacy; police organizations that seek legitimacy must demonstrate effectiveness as a normative requirement. Coicaud (2002, p. 34) reinforced such ideas as follows; 'Every political ruler who seeks to prove he possesses the right to govern [that is, is legitimate] has to satisfy, to try to satisfy, or to pretend to satisfy the needs of the members of the community. For the police, those needs include safety and security.'*

Hough et al (2010) state that the concept of legitimate policing is still supported by a historical perception by the British public that the police in this country are still; *'a symbol of particularly British values - of decency and of fair play, combined with pragmatism and the spirit of compromise'*. In contrast, police performance associated with crime fighting, as specified by NPM, has pushed ahead at the expense of the understanding, empathy and communication skills which enabled Peel's police to survive in the early days of formal policing. They

further suggest that a crude discourse about crime control has been manufactured, which appears to put the various needs of members of society in opposing corners of a larger debate and ignores the voices of those who are being policed. They conclude by declaring;

'to treat people with fairness and respect, police officers need genuinely to value fair treatment and genuinely to respect those who they police. Drilling them to adopt the skin-deep courtesy that is encountered at supermarket checkouts will always be, in our view a 'second best'. Of course this raises perennial issues about the balance between leadership and management control in policing, whose resolution lies beyond the scope of this paper'.

Hough et al (2010, p. 9)

- Concluding Remarks

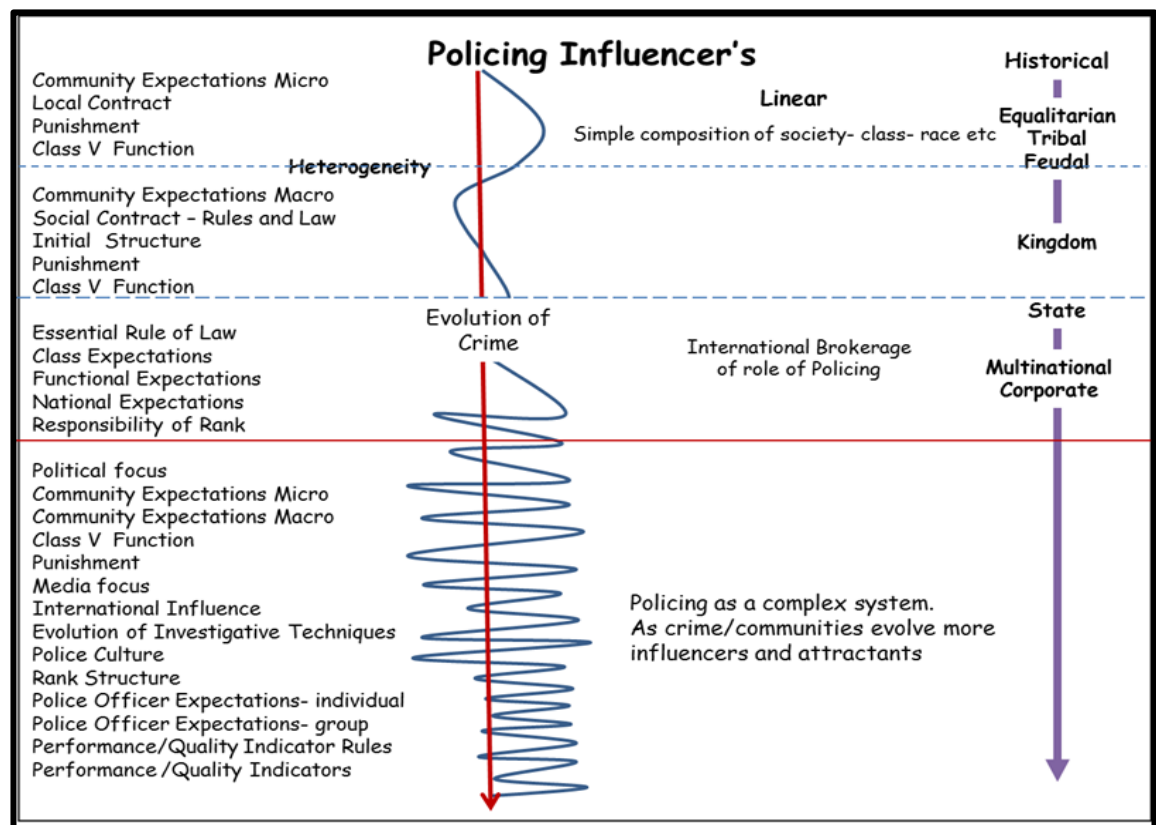
Crime has always represented an indication of a broader societal malaise and the role of the police has for some time been to fill the void when other organisations and agencies fail; which, when things go wrong makes them more of a target of recrimination and community anger.

A recent 'post' of a police officer on social media highlights the unenviable position of the modern day police. He explained that because of the reduction in staff within the health and criminal justice services, as a result of economic decline, he had been called out as the only member of emergency personnel available one evening. He attended the home of an elderly lady who had fallen and whom, with his basic appreciation of first aid, he believed had broken her hip. This had happened late at night and she had already been waiting for over an hour for help by the time he had arrived. She was totally alone. The ambulance service and paramedics were unavailable (as they were being called to emergencies all over the county) and as he sat with her on the floor to reassure and comfort her he was being called constantly by his control to attend various incidents which were occurring in the town. There were he stated, only three officers to cover the whole of the area and one was already engaged with a prisoner at the police station. As he was left to support the injured person one colleague was left to break up fights, make arrests, support victims of crime etc. He wondered what would have happened if he hadn't been there.

The content of this scenario is supported by concerns expressed by Sunshine and Tyler (2007) and Hawdon (2008) who amongst others note that the function and efficacy of the police are associated with complex matters beyond a simple measure of performance and control of crime.

The history of the communities of England and their need for a police response to community concerns is full of challenging dilemmas. Common themes associated with policing and noted within this history are those associated with communication; class; politics; status; culture and a distancing from community needs some of which are highlighted in Figure 2:13.

Figure 2:13: *A historical representation of the principle influences of Policing - based on community, legal and political considerations*



The following chapter provides some of the context to government response to such community based challenges, in that its focus is on the introduction of civilians as support personnel within the police service.

As the principal theme of this thesis is associated with an appreciation of the role of Police Community Support Officer the discussion will provide an overview of this role.

Chapter 3

Civilians in Service

3.1 *Introduction*

This chapter will provide some context to the current state of community policing in England and Wales which has been associated with the development of the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO), one of the newer members of the wider police family in the United Kingdom.

As the research literature has formerly indicated, in more recent history the police service appears to be constantly in a state of flux; apparently caught between community expectation and political necessity at one level and, on a more practical note, according to Bryant et al (1985), caught between the officers perceptions of 'real policing' and 'rubbish jobs' on another (Crisp 2014). This position is additionally supported by Walklate (1996, p. 197); Bowling (1999, p. 256); and Waddington (1999).

Very few newly attested Police Officers, if asked, would see their career extending before them with a sole focus of policing the more mundane local community problems, and yet this task is one which is fundamental to policing by consent as it reinforces the bonds that members of local communities have with their 'peace keepers'. Indeed, the role and behaviour of the Beat Bobby or

Community Police Officer has been the subject of much civic mythology, with an older generation of the British public reminiscing fondly about a time (which seemingly didn't exist) when you could leave your back door unlocked, without any unfortunate consequences, and where you would always see a policeman when you needed them. In the good old days a police officer would provide a kindly word or a '*clip around the ear*' to ensure that crime was addressed or prevented. This myth appears to have successfully been reinforced by the media who talk about a return to the days of *George Dixon*, a fictional TV police officer from the 1950s, and appears to be the fall-back position of politician and senior officer alike when defending community policing initiatives.

Whilst recent history might subscribe to alternative descriptions about the development of the role of the community police officer, the concept of the *Beat Bobby* is one, which has in contrast, been for a number of years devalued by serving officers and denigrated within the police culture. This is essentially because the role is perceived to encompass duties which fall within the *rubbish work* category; the antithesis of the crime fighting character of true policing, and, as such is associated with officers whom are perceived to be sick, lame and lazy, not fit to do the proper job of policing which is of course- to catch villains.

The police culture is strongly resistant to change which is why changes to policing tend to be motivated by error, revolt and subsequent imposition as opposed to evolution. As formerly discussed, this can be evidenced by, for

example, the changes in legislation and process associated with the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) and, more recently, equality legislation. Some changes are strongly associated with societal tensions which, when exacerbated by the police persona's psychological detachment from community based policing (reinforced by the police culture and the evolution of the police character) have resulted in poor police practice. Such events, as will be discussed, are core to the development of the role of PCSO.

3.2 The Historical Role of Civilians in Policing

Civilians have been involved in the peripheries of policing for some time, and as the previous chapter indicated this has historically included the recruitment of individuals who have more directly supported police process. The role of Watchman whose duties, as previously discussed, were to 'watch and ward' was a common member of the extended police family until the formal introduction of policing. Similarly the use of the wives of serving officers to provide a *matron* service to female prisoners in custody; or to resolve community problems whilst covering police duties in their police house whilst her husband was professionally absent was common. Finally the use of part time officers or Special Constables provided the organisation with an additional resource of attested police volunteers. This role continues to be an important one in the modern police service.

Later as society and local community requirements continued to evolve, the nature of a policing response to crime changed and it was necessary to develop a number of additional formal and informal structures for police support. This provided a mixed economy (Crawford et al 2005) of staff employed, generally in public reassurance roles, who were appointed by local authorities as Neighbourhood or Street Wardens, or in businesses mainly working within the security industry (Button 2002).

In relation to more formal practical policing requirements, the Taverne Report of 1966 identified and facilitated the arrival of specialist posts whose technical contributions to policing are generally unseen by the public such as; crime scene photography, the taking and reviewing of finger prints or working as scenes of crimes officers (Highmore 1993). In spite of their historical contribution to policing, Loveday (2004) notes that the independent contribution of civilian staff to the work of the police has been traditionally neglected by police reviews such as those undertaken by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC). This served as a reminder of the apparent high status of the work of sworn staff and in contrast the low status of the civilian contribution. He cites Parrett (1998) in recognising that as a result of the relatively menial tasks they were asked to perform that civilians were perceived as cheap substitutes to enable the police to undertake the real job at hand. This appears to be reflected in the lack of any distinctive career pathways for civilians either in specialist or other roles within the police service and was reinforced by the

Operational Policing Review of 1990 which meant that even more senior posts within the police service, such as those which focussed on specialisms such as finance, IT or human resources and which might more appropriately be held by experienced civilian staff, could or should be held by serving officers. The logic of this proposal was that they would be in the best position to command and more fully appreciate the duties of a *regulated* organisation. The reality however, in terms of the service utilising the most qualified or effective personnel in post, may be quite different.

The idea of the police service offering a job for life literally for some officers, meant that on retirement as a uniformed officer they would continue to work for the police service in a civilian post. This concept is associated with Howgrave-Graham's (1947) '*anti- civilian position*' which considered that the best training for work as a police civilian was to have experienced at first hand the role of a police officer. It is debatable whether this has resulted in the most capable individuals being appointed to key positions, as anecdotal evidence suggests that their work in their new role may be clouded by the influence of their former post. A 'recycled' retired senior officer may still behave as though the status and power held previously might continue to be exercised, and there is a belief that they will as a consequence resist the necessary changes which may drive an organisation forward because of their loyalty to their former role.

3.3 Civilianisation

The need to release more front line officers to undertake the task of policing, rather than engaging in back room bureaucratic processes, had been identified by the government as a significant problem (PA Consulting Group 2001). It was therefore unsurprising that the idea of the more formal integration of civilians as front line members of the police family was introduced in the Government White Paper '*Policing a New Century, A Blue Print for Reform*' (Home Office 2001). This document also explained the potential deployment duties of these new civilian staff members as relieving front line officers of the more routine policing responsibilities. Having highlighted the possible roles of new members of the wider police family, government continued a process of contracting out policing roles which was consolidated within the Police Reform Act (2002).

3.4 Impact of Police Culture on Police/ Civilian Working Relationships

Research in the 1990s by Highmore (1993) into police/ civilian integration observed a number of issues within these working relationships which became manifest in apparent feelings of self-importance and disdain towards civilian staff by serving officers. This high handed, sometimes arrogant attitude towards civilian staff, who may have been highly qualified technologists or hold expertise

in supporting forensic roles, was again identified by Williams (2004) and others as part of a process of undermining non- police expertise, which was acknowledged as an issue by the officers themselves in Highmore's research. The poor state of police /civilian relationship was further exemplified by Cope (2004) who found that the product of analytical work undertaken by specialist crime analyst roles was used *reactively* to justify pre-planned police initiatives as opposed to *proactively* to seek out opportunities within intelligence-led policing, thus undermining its worth as an important policing tool.

Undoubtedly differences in working conditions and pay have reinforced the perceptions of a two tier organisation, however, the police culture has also impacted on behaviours which, for some, have been experienced as workplace bullying (Highmore 1993, p.47; Parrett 1998, p. 97).

Largely as a result of the hierarchical operational structures within policing, police officers tend to find themselves in positions where they will be responsible for the management of civilian staff, which has again caused in some areas significant difficulties. Not only do civilian staff have different terms and conditions to those of police officers but few police managers, according to a survey by ACPO in 1990, had received any management training to enable them to understand the differences and outline subsequent expected responses (Parrett 1998, p.53). The results of the Neyroud Review of 2011 found that little had changed since the ACPO survey and reiterated the need for the police to develop a more professionally qualified management structure.

Poor management practices may ultimately lead to bullying and harassment which leads to accusations of inappropriate behaviour and possible legal action. This appears to be the case in the police service, as research by the public service union UNISON (2000;2009) revealed that 21% of their civilian staff respondents stated that they were being bullied by police officers; 39% of all respondents felt that this behaviour was associated with the police culture.

'In UNISON's view the results show that bullying has become part of the management culture of many police forces, and it is often being allowed to happen and carry on unchecked. The survey clearly demonstrates that bullies can get away with it and that this goes unchecked because workers are scared to report it' (Rayner 2000, p.5)

Mason (2000, pp.19-20) notes that police managers, who may already have a poor reputation with officers under their control, may further intimidate civilian staff identifying behaviours such as undermining them and swearing at them in public, socially excluding them and withholding necessary work based information from them. As they are still seen as 'outsiders' in a police world, police ranks may close to protect such poor management practice, if complaints are made by civilian staff against police personnel, thus ensuring that the abuse continues, and in many cases, worsens before they are forced to leave police employment. Einarsen (2000) associates such behaviours with what she terms, *Interaction Chain Theory*, which she believes are linked to the type of work that the police are called upon to perform.

The uneasy relationships already identified between officers and civilian staff appears to be one which might have left PCSO recruits to the service feeling uneasy about their future; the next section however considers how they have become assimilated into the police family to become useful partners in front line community policing.

3.5 The PCSO in England and Wales

The introduction of the role of Police Community Support Officer in 2002 was initially observed as another facet of a continuing political trend; as part of the wider workforce modernisation agenda which, at the time, developed support structures for workers employed in the public services in order to maximise limited resources. This arguably provided an opportunity to displace the less complex tasks associated with any specific role in, for example, offender management, nursing or teaching, to ensure that key personnel were free to undertake the more rigorous professional requirements of their job. As the Blair *New Labour* government had pledged to be tough on crime and its causes, it was politically important for them *to be seen* to be taking action. Thus, the idea of providing practical support to combat the rise of types of crime which undermined a community's quality of life and, thus, confidence in government ability to meet its pledge was one which was seen as a priority. In spite of the introduction of a

number of new laws which aimed to combat anti-social behaviour, such offences were still seen as lacking in importance by the police.

The role of the PCSO, defined within the Police Reform Act (2002), provided an opportunity for Chief Constables to appoint front line uniformed staff to provide a visible presence in their local communities with powers they deemed to be sufficient to deal with minor issues and combat low level disorder. This would consequently release police officers from responding to nuisance focussed calls in order that they might focus on the more complex policing tasks. To ensure flexibility, Chief Constables were provided with a set of standards and a choice of discretionary policing powers for their local PCSOs. These were subsequently updated by The Police Reform Act 2002 (Standard Powers and Duties of Community Support Officers) Order 2007. To further encourage the uptake of the new role, Chief Constables were granted additional ring-fenced government funds from which the new front line resource might initially be supported. At the time, the general perception of the more cynical rank and file police to this new post was that that the job would disappear when the funding ran out.

Instead of the anticipated positive response by local communities to the introduction of this new front line post there was much confusion, with community leaders asking why this new role should be created at all when there appeared to be a need to recruit additional police officers. This concern was fuelled by adverse media coverage which highlighted the potential negative impact of the role, and referred to PCSOs as Plastic Police, Monkeys and 4.95's. One of the

many complications at this time was caused by the different expectations of the role. This was further muddled by the differences in policing powers adopted by chief officers for local needs, which meant that a PCSO in one shire force would have different powers associated with their duty to another PCSO stationed a couple of miles down a road in another force area. In addition to the confusion about the post, the police cultural devaluation of the new position began almost immediately with the Police Federation opposing the creation of what they perceived would be an; *'ill equipped and ill trained second layer of law enforcers'* (Berry 2007).

To a certain extent the concerns expressed by the Police Federation were initially correct in that newly appointed PCSOs were provided locally with haphazard, cut-down versions of *in-house* police officer training courses. As a result the training was basic and provided for the minimum level of skill and operational proficiency. Cooper et al (2006) noted the lack of time provided to develop appropriate training packages for PCSOs which meant that each force area had to develop their own training, the content and quality of which varied from force to force. For the majority of PCSOs at this time instruction lasted one week (Unwin 2006) after which they were expected to be in a position to work closely with troubled communities on issues associated with any number of other complex problems. The early PCSOs consequently either continued to do what they had always done (e.g. the recycled ex-traffic warden recruits focussed on parking offences) or endeavoured to undertake independent learning (some with

the support of local beat officers) and gain supplementary experience, making themselves useful in other ways.

In a 2014 review of the role in Cambridge the following statement, which was taken from a reflective staff survey based on police managers experiences, sums up a common national occurrence; *'We were given these staff and had literally no idea what we were supposed to do with them'* (Sutherland 2014). Unfortunately for some, the lack of direction and understanding of policing powers and role meant that hiding in plain sight seemed the best option, which fuelled police gossip about lazy or incapable PCSOs. This was not subsequently helped in the wider community by continued negative press which highlighted incompetence or laziness, or that suggested, more seriously (and incorrectly) gross neglect of duty (BBC 2007).

A television documentary sponsored by the then Labour government *'Beat: Life on the street'*, (ITV 2006) which it was hoped would redress levels of satisfaction as a result of the bad press, was relatively successful, changing public opinion about PCSOs from 28% of the public stating that they had satisfaction and confidence in the role to 62% in 2006 (Sutherland 2014). This success was sadly undermined by a report which consequently stated that, in breach of OFCOM rules, the Home Office had paid the broadcaster (ITV) a considerable sum of money (£400,000) to promote the cause.

In addition to the development of the PCSO, the year 2002 also saw the introduction by the government of a more formal framework by which crimes should be recorded by the police (National Crime Recording Standards) and APACS (performance) indicators which together standardised crime reporting and police performance specifications. The effect on community based policing was unfortunate in that at a local level BCU Commanders were provided with targets for activity such as arrests or detected crime, which would indicate the apparent efficiency of their officers. The result was that the more confrontational processes such as *stop and search* were overly relied upon to meet targets and officers were expected to spend little time on community reassurance procedures; which were not evaluated by the performance criteria. Whilst such processes have been identified as helping to reduce levels of crime they may also damage community relations (Joyce 2006). In contrast, the role of PCSO was developed as a non-confrontational reassuring police presence and was not, at that time, associated with performance targets which meant that; *'their relationship with communities began as a less retributive one'* (Crisp 2012). Whilst many police officers began to become more detached from the community engagement side of community policing in order to meet government targets by focusing on *response duties*; the role of PCSO was apparently expected by government to fill the gaps. The Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) later noted their role as:

'contributing to the policing of neighbourhoods, primarily through highly visible patrol with the purpose of reassuring the public, increasing orderliness in

public places and being accessible to communities and partner agencies working at local level. The emphasis of this role, and the powers required to fulfil it, will vary from neighbourhood to neighbourhood and force to force'.

(ACPO 2005, p.6)

Although the role of PCSO might have originally been interpreted by some as an imposition by government on the police service in order to, 'police on the cheap' (Evans cited by Broster 2007), their deployment had a distinct focus along with community policing initiatives, in providing a visible presence in high crime areas in order to reduce crime (Paskell 2007). As a consequence these officers are still more generally associated with policing poorer communities, who are unable to independently finance crime reduction strategies in order to protect their homes or personal property.

As the role was initially developed as a civilian albeit uniformed post, it also opened up opportunities to diverse groups of people who formerly would not have been in a position to become associated with the wider police family because they did not fit into the archetypal profile of a police officer (Francis 2003; Johnston 2005; Cooper et al 2006). This made it possible for individuals with a whole new set of skills and experiences to be introduced into policing. As a result, the role nationally has provided an opportunity for individuals to *test the occupational water* first as PCSOs before applying to become police officers, thus supporting government recruitment initiatives for diverse recruits (Home Office 2010, p.14). Not all recruits however saw the PCSO role as a stepping stone to become a police

officer and those have endeavoured in the main, to develop the role as a focus of support for local people with an almost evangelical zeal.

Many have been able to utilise their unique skills to the benefit of particular community groups. In Norfolk Constabulary for example, there is currently a Portuguese speaking PCSO who not only patrols in districts where Portuguese is spoken as a first language but who has also been able to teach police officers about the Portuguese language and culture to develop more meaningful relationships with local communities. Similar examples of PCSO led initiatives within community settings can be found in a number of police forces around the country.

Whilst the role and powers had been clearly defined within the Police Reform Act, the practical application of both PCSO powers and duties, expected by colleagues of assorted ranks of the police service meant, that whilst some of the PCSOs were absolutely focused on what they could or couldn't do; the perceptions of managers and colleagues were on what they should or shouldn't do. When this cloudy interpretation of duties was mixed with the ambitions of PCSOs who wanted to become more involved in the policing role, or the fears of others who did not wish to be perceived as insubordinate, the result was potentially disastrous; as some were sent to emergency calls in potentially dangerous circumstances and others were expected to deal with matters that were beyond their remit, like cutting down the bodies of suicide cases as part of a sudden death investigation (Crisp 2008 unpublished). To some extent this ambiguity has

been reflected in the results of the research upon which this literature review is based.

The influence and behaviours associated with the police crime fighting culture, identified by Reiner (2000), were subsequently identified in the actions of some PCSOs who in spite of the key expectation of the role- to provide a visible presence, were required whilst on duty to undertake plain clothes surveillance. This is the sort of role that would have previously been undertaken by qualified detective constables.

It seemed that as a resource the willing or coerced PCSO could be used in all manner of ways and, in spite of ACPO guidance about those tasks which were within the remit of the job, a review of the National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA) noted; *'that this local flexibility has resulted in PCSOs performing certain roles which are not closely aligned to those set out in the guidance'* (NPIA 2008, p.8).

By August 2007 PCSOs were beginning to make an impact fiscally, if not physically, which caused the Daily Mail Newspaper to complain that the Labour government were replacing full-time police with *'plastic bobbies'* (Leake 2007), and Jan Berry, the then Chair of the Police Federation, to express concerns that instead of being the eyes and ears of the police their increasing presence, motivated by cost, would result in the deskilling of police and additional policing powers to be necessarily granted to PCSOs.

In spite of initial criticism by the media and distrust by the police federation, the role has demonstrated its worth to the communities it serves being identified as partially responsible for the reduction in crime and the increase in public confidence and awareness of community safety (HMIC 2004; Francis 2003, p.18; Johnstone 2005; Casey 2008). The benefit of civilian/police partnership working has also been seen as valuable by their police partners on the front line (Wilson 2004; Lund 2004; Cooper et al 2006). In September 2007, five years after the introduction of the PCSO role, the National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA) assembled a more nationally applicable list of training requisites; formally introducing the Wider Police Learning and Development Programme (WPLDP). Specific skills were finally recommended as core to PCSO training in their PCSO Review (2008) and subsequently integrated into local training pathways which provided links to the IPLDP, the *Initial Police Learning and Development Programme*.

In 2012, in spite of fears that the function of the PCSO could still disappear, there was an acceptance by the police service nationally that the recruitment and training route of the PCSO or Special Constable would facilitate the recruitment of direct entrants to become police officers via IPLDP focussed training programmes; this appears to be, in less financially resilient times, proving to be the case.

3.6 The Future

The publication by HMIC of 'Policing in Austerity: One year on' (HMIC 2012), provides a gloomy forecast of policing in times of global recession and looks at a future where there will be necessary reductions in staffing levels and changes to police structures in order to balance funds. This appears to be the case as the relatively new innovation of the Police Crime Commissioners (PCC's) in replacing the local police authorities nationally has focussed on effective practice and efficiency to ensure the survival of police services. Experienced officers have already been dispatched from service by means of *Police Regulation 19* and, according to a statement by the Shadow Home Secretary Yvette Cooper, there has been an average of a 6% reduction of front-line policing posts since 2010 (Travis 2012). In spite of this the role of the PCSO survives as the report indicates that some police organisations are beginning to move PCSOs into non visible roles which support; '*areas of greatest harm and risk*' (HMIC 2012, p.37). Whilst these changes may withdraw some of them from their original brief of providing a visible uniformed presence in the community, it certainly appears that the police service might now be reluctant to lose this resource. This may of course change as police posts continue to be at risk.

In a recent review of PCSO resources Cambridgeshire Constabulary note that in spite of a lack of academic fieldwork into the impact of the PCSO in recent times, they believe that there is no substantive evidence that PCSOs have a

positive impact on reducing crime and anti-social behaviour (Sutherland 2014). Their review however continues by highlighting the non-measurable benefits of the role, which are still aligned with the core requirement of the post identifying, in addition to basic policing support, their assistance to vulnerable victims of crime and in outreach activities within local communities, as positive benefits of the job. This research also makes links between public satisfaction and the role, finding an increased level of satisfaction associated with policing overall which is linked to contact with PCSOs. As the review notes; *'any sizeable reduction in PCSO numbers could have a considerable negative impact on overall public satisfaction with the constabulary'* (Sutherland 2014, p.28).

The success of the PCSO in local communities has been based on their willingness to act in a supporting role for the police and provide a visible reassuring presence with limited policing powers. As a result, the competent PCSOs have learnt to use their powers of communication and discretion to keep order in a similar way to that found in early policing strategies. In times of economic hardship, there are certainly savings to be made in employing more PCSOs than Police Officers to police our streets as according to data retrieved from a freedom of information request, a ratio of twelve PCSOs could be trained against one police officer (FOI ref 0322/2009 2009). UNISON also notes that their members are keen to take on additional, more formal, policing responsibility within the police family (UNISON 2009).

From this evidence it seems inevitable that the role will change, but it is disappointing to think that the modifications which may be already in the pipeline, will necessarily remove the very positive contribution to community policing that PCSOs have already made. There is a difference between PCSOs and Police Officers which has made them more valuable to local communities in that their visibility has made a positive impact on reassuring communities about crime, without the concerns about the physical force and tensions associated with fighting crime, the role that police officers undertake.

Like the review for Cambridgeshire Constabulary formerly noted, the result of a recent review of the role of the PCSO by Leeds City Council suggests that whilst in Leeds the PCSOs community based role is changing, broadening both the duties, policing based powers and geographical patrol area of the PCSOs; there is no intention to reduce numbers as the role is identified as being valuable to the continuation of community based policing (Brogden 2014). In Cambridge, the value of PCSO staff, both within the organisation and as ambassadors of the police to other partner agencies and community projects is seen as inestimable.

In a scenario based question, set as part of the Cambridgeshire review, police managers were asked about a choice between the recruitment of more PCSOs or fewer Police Officers'. Some managers agreed that it might be better to use PCSO resources, as they were less likely to be moved or abstracted to other duties. Like some of the comments made by managers in this research

however, managers expressed their concerns about mission creep and the possibility of using PCSO as policing auxiliaries which might damage their positive impact on community cohesion.

- Concluding remarks
-

Government responses to concerns about the distance between the police and the public have led to the development of the Community Support Officer whose role is intended to provide the bridge between the crime fighting procedures encouraged by government (and to a greater extent by the police themselves) and the needs of local communities. The introduction and *bedding in* of this new policing role has not been without its problems, most notably from within the police service itself.

The current role of policing the 21st Century however is under dispute and will now be discussed by using examples of some of the academic theories that have been adopted in an endeavour to comprehend the more complex concerns of society.

Chapter 4

The Role of Theory in Appreciating Community Policing, Management and Leadership

'Management-the art of getting things done through people'.

Mary Parker Follett (1868-1933)

4.1 Introduction

- What is a theory?

McNamara (2009) suggests that theory, particularly in relation to management sciences, helps researchers make sense of the changing nature of organisational environments and may extend beyond simply the understanding of management within organisations to support our appreciation of other aspects of society. This thesis has at its heart, an attempt to apply instruments utilised within the theory of uncertainty, or chaos, to understanding management within the police service; more specifically, the application of those principles to the evolving role of the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO). In order to apply this theory effectively it is necessary to principally reflect on the more common application of theory within criminal justice processes, as this may contribute to a more cogent research strategy and development of method, in an attempt to comprehend meaning. As Maguire et al (1998) and Maguire (2003, pp.9-10) notes there is some

ambiguity about what constitutes an *organisation* for the purposes of policing, which has subsequently generated a variance in academic approaches to its study.

'Organisations are greater than the sum of their parts. They expand and contract, rise and fall and generally take on lives of their own. Organisations, like individuals and social groups, do not only act, but are acted upon as well. They are influenced, shaped and constrained by a complex interaction of political, social, economic, cultural and institutional forces.'

Maguire (2003, pp.9-10)

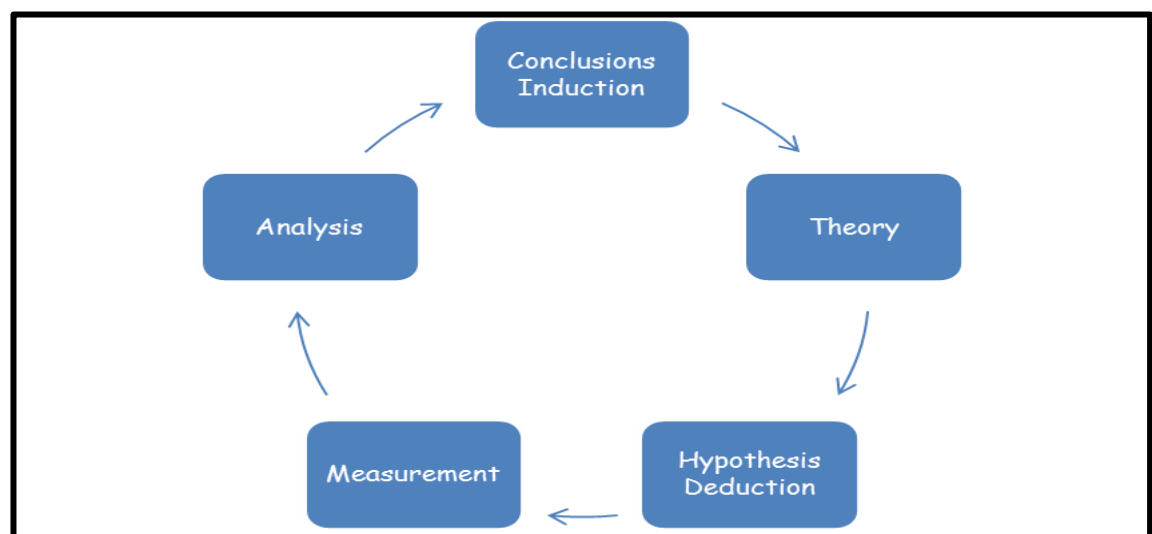
In the same way that it is difficult to describe *management* in policing terms because of the impact of the term *leadership* and the potential for contradictions, one of the problems when discussing the significance of concepts relating to research is that the term *theory* can generally have a number of different meanings, dependent upon the perspective of the user. Theories may emerge from periods of observation and testing, providing a formal repeatable structure upon which to base extended or continued studies, or alternatively, spontaneously materialize to provide an explanation of events or postulate about why certain events occurred or what might be about to happen as a result. Schneberger et al (2009) notes the potential for theory to be expanded and thus generalised to different areas of practice.

Theoreticians and practitioners alike, it is suggested, employ theory as an essential tool to test 'conditions'. Both will go through similar processes to resolve hypothetical or real concerns. Differences may lie in the detail or focus of the

theory but nevertheless, the idea of a process cycle linked to the development of theory is common to the two. In *practice*, as opposed to experimental situations however, such processes may be simply linked to making decisions. Even the course of action inherent within management decisions is not it appears without controversy, as debates about the application of one of the many possible theoretical frames, the Cumulative Prospect theory shows. In reviewing this theory and its application to the management decisions process, Tipuric and Prester (2004), draw together considerations from spheres as diverse as economics, psychology, politics, management sciences and even offshore polar engineering to support their discourse. Such dynamic ideas will be considered in greater depth in a later chapter of this work.

The following process diagram is taken from a model of general scientific enquiry proposed by Schneberger et al (2009).

Figure 4:1 *The Model of General Scientific Enquiry Proposed by Schneberger et al (2009).*



According to positivist theorists, research begins when an idea or a theory is proposed to anticipate or explain events. The theory is then tested by means of the creation of an experimental situation or the overlaying of the hypothesis on an existing event. Finally, the measurements of activities within the event, or experimental situation, are analysed and checked to see if the original hypotheses was correct. Within an academic sphere all of these procedures will conform to rigorous standards and be comparable to established scientific regimes. When the results of formal research are applied in 'practice', i.e. the work place, such standards or detail may not be employed, or, be simply perceived not worthwhile or valid by the practitioners themselves. In recent years however organisations have seen the development of more 'practice' based research. This is research which is undertaken by the practitioners themselves. Whilst this type of research, when it applies more generally to the process and structure of an organisation, might not be held accountable in the same way as academic research, it has become subject to greater scrutiny by external measures of quality, ethical working and excellence; mainly driven by market forces and the impact of consumer focused legislation.

In some empirically based research, the need to support the hypothesis or alternatively provide explanations for unexpected results, can prove to be challenging and lead to criticisms about the model used or the fundamental questions asked within the hypothesis. In such circumstances practitioners may hold the missing answer or explanations for such unanticipated results being more

used to the context but may regrettably be too disinterested to provide a response (or not be asked the questions in the first place). Unlike the Probation Service or the NHS⁹¹, the police have seemingly been historically disengaged from anything that academic theory might offer them (Vickers 2000). At best, the pressure to change in order to meet expectations identified by academic research or theoretical ideal has been begrudgingly utilised, but subsequently adapted to suit a police version of a *box ticking* exercise.

According to Schneberger et al (2009), theory as framed by academic discussions in management studies, has historically had little practical engagement. Indeed they note that business schools formerly focussed upon scholarly theory-driven research, at the expense of practice, and were as a consequence largely ignored by corporate leaders. Aspects of the dynamic practitioner vs. theorist can appear in many fields of endeavour, but it appears that in management science, until fairly recently, this distinction has been relatively ignored. Rynes et al (2001) suggests that business theorists are perceived as becoming more detached from everyday business, whilst, in some contrast, research by Baldrige et al (2004) notes a positive relationship between academic quality; as measured by the number of citations and practical relevance judged by practitioners.

⁹¹ Both are examples of organisations, who like the police, have worked with academic research for a number of years to endeavour to change procedure, to ensure best practice.

In a number of areas the term theory is used in opposition to the term practice, the latter apparently having more credibility. To be a good practitioner appears in many eyes to raise an individual *head and shoulders* above a good theorist. Schneberger et al (2009) reminds us however, that while practitioners may not call their presumptions about their environment 'theories', they serve the same purpose and resemblance to academic theories and, as the previous section suggests share similar processes of development.

There may also be other concerns in developing theory which the following extract, taken from an internet technology blog, highlights:

'Zotero is amazing. I know this because I've seen it in action; I've seen how it can make the tedious work of managing citations into an effortless experience, and how it can accelerate research and writing. I also can't figure the damn thing out. I'm a technology wizard, but this amazing tool is completely useless to me because I haven't learned how to use it. I'm sure I'm not alone. I'm not picking on Zotero, I'm just pointing out that there is a disconnect, here, between skills and theory, which academics are particularly vulnerable to'.

(Weikal 2009 emphasis added)

Such issues highlighted by research reinforces the need for academic and practitioner to work together and keep research 'real', anchored in practice and be developed to be consumed by practitioners, if they are the intended audience (Robey and Markus 1998). Occasionally, as the example suggests, the realism is not possible because of the lack of ability on the part of the academic, in fully

appreciating the practical application. It could be argued however, that some previous research into policing has been flawed because the academic findings of research have proven to be unpalatable for the 'practitioner' (Stockdale 1993). This is particularly disconcerting when research has been produced by former practitioners such as Professor Simon Holdaway, a former police sergeant.

Sometimes research problems do not simply fit into traditional paradigms, in some cases heuristics may be based on guesses, or common sense, but may be more commonly adopted within a problem solving process that results in a series of trial and error tests. It is difficult to fully comprehend how theory for example, might be used to explain apparently unpredictable human behaviour, when the predictability of human behaviour, as suggested by studies within the social sciences, it might be argued, suffers from a significant flaw in that human beings are not wholly predictable. *Rational choice, it is argued, complicates matters.*

A simple example of this notion of unpredictability might be to ask why people should choose to commit criminal acts in front of CCTV cameras when logic suggests that they, the cameras, will be able to provide supporting evidence to convict the actor of the offence enacted (Brown 1995; Poyner, 1992a: 1992b; Welsh et al 2015). In an attempt to resolve such issues, social and physical scientists have constructed methods to accommodate such concerns. The idea of behavioural economics for example, as proposed by Tversky and Kahneman (1974), endeavours to combine mathematics and psychology in an attempt to examine;

'A set of exceptions that modifies but leaves intact the canonical model of rational choice, not least since it is irrational to suppose that people in general behave irrationally.

(The Economist, 29-04-2006)

Problem forecasting and resolution, it is suggested, has at times been reduced to a series of mathematical algorithms which provides a theorist with a suitable pattern associated with a desired outcome. Such analyses, formerly undertaken by complicated mathematical equations, are now perceived merely as part of a process of identifying the right statistical computer package to support the original concept. Irrational behaviour it is suggested, is thus accommodated by the press of a button. 'Outliers', or those individuals or elements in research that don't fit expectations, can effectively be removed in any analysis after all. This theory/ validation process however appears nonsensical in the context of predicting or understanding human actions, particularly when probing aspects of rational choice, which to the observer, might appear irrational. In trying to understand the illogical the outliers have their importance, and effectively provide potentially unseen evidence, that whilst theory is the bedrock of scientific research - it cannot alone provide understanding.

Evidence for the theoretical stance occupied within this proposal acknowledges that life is full of complex meanings, and argues for a recognition of and focus on the apparently *research invisible* which can be found, for example, within the biological sciences, where studies into milk yield (Meinert and Norman

1998) focussed upon outliers to make genetic comparisons between successful or non-successful breeding groups of cattle over time. Similar validation is to be found in areas such as paediatrics (Berki and Schneier 1987) and sociology (Thome 1995).

The concept of the Big T/Little t proposed by Schneberger et al (2009) further clouds the matter as it appears that theory might be split into 'Big' or 'Little' categories. The authors helpfully further divide such categories, highlighting characteristics within intrinsic, application and perception values.

Such theories are more simply recognised because Big T theories are; *'generally overarching, widely recognised and used'* (ibid p.9). Whilst Little t; *'can be thought of as a simple theory that provides value on its own or as a relatively immature but developing theory. A little t theory may not be widely recognized (hence, the non-capitalized t), and may not even have the word theory in its title (or even have a title). It may, indeed, have many of the characteristics of what some pure theorists describe as "not a theory"! And yet it can still be highly useful to academics and practitioners alike'* (ibid p.11).

In applying a theoretical framework to studies within policing it is necessary to accommodate the practitioner mind-set but also the unpredictability of human behaviour. The behaviour of such dynamical systems is contained within the principles of *Chaos or Complexity theory*. Simply, this idea seeks to find pattern and form from the apparently random, and, whilst it has its foundations in

the physical sciences, it has been successfully applied to both the social and physical sciences to make sense of apparently unanticipated events.

The following section provides examples of the successful cross fertilisation of theories, which would normally be seen within the physical sciences when applied to the social sciences and police processes.

4.2 Using the Big T- : an example of applying the biological to the social.

Occupations such as the military, the police and fire service hold within them real peril that at some time in service, incumbents might be required to risk serious or fatal injury. Why would someone willingly sacrifice their lives for strangers? What could be more irrational? Theorists have not been shy to propose their ideas in response.

Some theorists have considered Evolutionary theory (originally proposed by Charles Darwin in 1859 - and certainly an example of a Big T theory) as a foundation for their proposals. They start by using the idea of natural selection as providing vindication for apparently altruistic, but personally damaging behaviour in animals who, it is suggested, focus upon instinctive traits for survival.

'Natural selection ... can honestly be described as a process for maximizing short-sighted selfishness' (Williams 1988, p. 385).

Natural selection therefore attempts to provide reasons for apparently random (instinctive) behaviours which ultimately lead to an organism's successful

replication and continuance over time. But how can one apply comparable principles to support apparently similarly irrational (altruistic) behaviour in humankind? Surely the proposal of humans acting on instinct in this way is ludicrous and diminishes the concept of rational choice; the principle that has secured humanities place at the top of the food chain. In one of the more recent historical developments, the proponent of the 'Selfish Gene', Richard Dawkins (1989) has postulated that the study of memetic's might provide some answers in providing a culturally focussed response to understanding irrational traits in human behaviour. However as Ghiselin (1974) rather cynically states;

'No hint of genuine charity ameliorates our vision of society, once sentimentalism has been laid aside. What passes for co-operation turns out to be a mixture of opportunism and exploitation. ... Given a full chance to act in his own interest, nothing but expediency will restrain [a person] from brutalizing, from maiming, from murdering--his brother, his mate, his parent, or his child. Scratch an `altruist' and watch a `hypocrite' bleed" (ibid p. 247).

This suggests that the 'Good Samaritan' response, which has been used to explain acts of bravery and other altruistic traits, commonly found in individuals within organisations such as the Police service, is not simply resolved. As a result, Dawkins Little t theory has now become a Big T theory and so it will continue with other ideas being piggybacked from Dawkins rather than Darwin's initial thoughts. Nevertheless the example shows that a theory focussed within a physical science

such as biology, does not appear totally alien when trying to understand actions, which, might be more suited to interpretation by the social sciences.

In their guide to research and statistics in the social sciences Gravetter and Wallnau (1988) notes; *'A psychological theory typically consists of a number of statements about the underlying mechanisms of behaviour. Theories are important in that they help organise and unify many observations.'*

This suggests that like those within the physical sciences some theories simply appear to be developed after an event and remain to provide points of reference against which future events might be measured.

The following example shows how a hybrid theory, this time developed from the biological and physical sciences, can be applied within a political/management science context to provide a snapshot of environment and time, recognising the necessity - like a sun cream, to reapply .

In 1950 Armen Alchian reviewed models of uncertainty (chaos/complexity), within his theory of evolution and economics. He noted; *'Analytical models in all sciences postulate modules abstracting from some realities in the belief that derived predictions will still be relevant. Simplifications are necessary but continued attempts should be made to introduce more realistic assumptions into a workable model with an increase in generality and detail.'* (1950, pp. 211-221)

Whilst acknowledging the impact of the unpredictable on society and economy he also recognised the potential for patterns to appear concluding by stating; *'It is straightforward, if not heuristic to start with complete uncertainty*

and non-motivation and then to add elements of foresight and motivation in the process of building an analytical model. The opposite approach, which starts with certainty and unique motivation, must abandon its basic principles as soon as uncertainty and mixed motivations are recognised'.

(ibid pp.211-221)

One of Alchian's final statements appears particularly pertinent when applied within today's economic climate.

'Even in a world of stupid men there would still be profits. Also, the greater the uncertainties of the world, the greater is the possibility that profits would go to the venturesome and lucky rather than to logical, careful, fact-gathering individuals'. (ibid pp.211-221)

Is a theory the same as a hypothesis? The universal agreement is that is not and yet again the terms can at times appear interchangeable. A hypothesis however is a statement, guess or prediction about a situation and an experiment is designed to test it.

'Confirming these predictions strengthens the theory, suggesting it is correct and useful for guiding future research', (Gravetter and Wallnau 1988).

As much of traditional police activity has been driven by a 'gut feeling'⁹² response- based process, as opposed to a research- informed, evidence- based practice, it might be said to align itself with processes of hypotheses. This is

⁹² This may be based on an unconscious accumulation of evidence.

compounded by the fact that policing is full of wicked problems which are not easily solved either technically or administratively (Glidewell and Hargrove, 1990).

4.3 The role of Management Theory to Policing

As one of the principal themes of this research explored the management of PCSOs, it required contributions from subjects who held positions of management (or leadership) within the police service. In order to better appreciate these roles, the following section reflects relevant theories associated with the role of manager within the context of policing.

Whilst early management theorists found it relatively simple to divide the role and function of managers within organisations and to quantify the changes expected as a result, it now appears that this is no longer straightforward. The impact of ethics, workplace democracy and technology have all meant that the responsibility and expectations of the workplace manager and staff, may, in many cases be interchangeable (Bergmann et al 1999); an aspect accepted by Bolden et al (2003) in their review of leadership theory and competency frameworks. Quite simply, the early expectation of management science to improve practice and function of organisations, a fairly neutral standpoint, has been blown apart by the understanding that management has a more complete role to play within and external to the work of organisations. This, according to Alvesson and Wilmot (1992), not only operates to ensure the production of goods and services, but may also more broadly impact on the culture, desires and expectations of workers,

consumers and the community as a whole. When one adds to this, the perception of Berdayes (2002), who proposes that traditional management models, such as those proposed by Fayol (1923) and Taylor (1903), have formerly been used to suppress and exercise control over society by exerting social control of organisational space in the way a *Foucaultian* vision of the *panopticon* would work. It is perhaps not surprising that management theories have had to develop to accommodate this challenge. According to Peters and Waterman, (1982), Heller (1997), Miller and Vaughan, (2001) and Hermel and Ramis Pujol (2003), management theory is not viewed as an exact science. On the contrary, the application of a number of diverse metaphors such as "*sailing*" or "*playing jazz*" used in conjunction with management practice show a very different mind-set.

Such proposals take theory some distance from the original premise of early philosophical schools whereby, the scientific definition of the organisation of work, the formal consideration of hierarchy, and the principles behind the management coordination of the related mechanics provided clear focus.

This classicist perspective of management theory and others, which focussed on human relations, socio technical organisations, structural systems, neoclassical and sociological development, appears to reflect with some ease theoretical constructs within the physical and social sciences. But even within these areas of apparent rigour and form, the changes within society and the extended knowledge within the physical world, which now looks at the reality of '*virtuality*', requires an imaginative response.

With so many possible interpretations of some confusing concepts it is perhaps not surprising that researchers and theorists endeavouring to make sense of the management of human beings will, in developing and applying their 'science', resort to adopting fundamental ideas to provide a foundation for future research. Some examples of this process have already been discussed.

Ghoshal (2005) reminds us however that this principle may not always be sensible and directs us to consider the content of the Nobel Memorial Lecture of Freidrich von Hayak (1989) who discussed the danger posed by '*scientific pretentions*' in the analysis of social phenomena. Sometimes theory can only be tested in real situations and it is there that the impact of failure can have devastating results. There is also an inherent danger that theory may be applied in a novel environment, because it has formerly worked successfully in another, without recognition of potentially dire consequences.

Coleman (2008) describes the application of strategic management theories to practices within Canadian police organisations, noting that police managers have insufficient levels of knowledge about the principles of strategic management, to successfully apply them in order to make informed strategic decisions. This perception is also relevant to managers within the police service in the UK as highlighted by reports by Neyroud (2011) and Winsor (2011).

'*Tame*' responses to '*Wicked*' problems in policing are frequent, (Rittel and Webber, 1973, p. 160; Harmon and Mayer, 1986, p. 9), with an abundance of guidelines, policy, or more controlling statements of procedure, generated by

police leaders (particularly ACPO⁹³ ranks and HMIC) to provide police officers and their managers with *quick fixes* to problems, in the hopes that they will consequently dissipate (Rees, 1995, p. 24). True innovation in management, or any other police practice, is often squashed by the *"iron cage" of functional or instrumental rationality* (Weber 1976), or police culture, which tends to undermine its benefit. *'Traditional police educative process has judged those who uncritically accept regulations and directions to be superior to those demonstrating strong intellectual aspirations, analytical tendencies, and the pursuit of knowledge'*. (Bittner, 1990, p. 192).

Maguire (2003) explores the organisational complexity of policing by highlighting the dimensions of vertical (hierarchical), functional (role) and geographic (location), which he states impacts on the control, formalisation, administration, centralisation, complexity and differential impact of their service. It is perhaps fortunate then, that research provides opportunities to apply the principles of theory to pockets of reality in order to gauge the status quo and extrapolate further results.

⁹³ Now the National Police Chiefs Council (NPCC)

4.4 Theories of Policing

The police service has always considered itself, according to some of its members, as a '*can do*' organisation. The inference being that there is a significantly reactive element to the processes involved. This has been highlighted by academic research historically and has led as a consequence, to proposals by academic theorists for policing processes which might be more proactive and evidence led. Zhao (1996) notes the influence of *structural contingency theory* on the efficacy of police services, suggesting that successful police organisations are those which can adapt to changing external environments. *Institutional theory* (Meyer and Rowan 1977) provides for change within police organisations, which represent a response to a series of organisational influences such as politics, the media and community groups.

Concerns about organisational relationships and influences have additionally been identified within a number of traditional styles of policing (or policing methods) suggesting that the strategies behind the *successful* application of those methods, have been accommodated within the existing style of management. It is hard to describe what *management* in the police service actually means however as the term *leadership* is used more often than not to describe the personal development of police officers at the rank of constable, and those of other more senior ranks, in order to 'manage'. The role of the police manager is becoming ever more complex as at one level of operational practice, a manager may be overseeing special projects, responding to community complaints, and tending

to the more mundane administrative reviews of operational targets and personnel duties; whilst in contrast they may simultaneously have to take control of a major incident which involves threats of terrorism, civil disobedience or death (Geller and Swanger, 1995, pp. 8-9).

According to the (now defunct) National Police Improvement Agency;

*'The **Leadership** Development Unit designs and delivers **leadership** programmes to meet the needs of the Police Service. The Core **Leadership** Development Programme (CLDP) introduces **leadership** skills for constables, sergeants and inspectors and police staff at equivalent grades. **Leadership** learning is then developed through the High Potential Development Scheme (HPDS), the Senior **Leadership** Development Programme (SLDP) and the Strategic Command Course (SCC).'* (NPIA 2009 emphasis added)

The term *management* appears to be notably absent in this promotional paragraph for the **Leadership** Development Unit services; it is perhaps reasonable to ask why. The expression *leadership*, in relation to policing, may be a historical consequence of the early days of formally structured law enforcement when recruits to the Police Force came mainly from the armed services where the idea of the *Great Man* and *Trait* theories were prevalent. These theories supported the idea that leaders were special people (usually male), who were born to become *great*, and, as a result, be able to command others through their innate abilities to lead. Other 'leaders' were born with a number of specific character traits which,

when developed by being placed in a leadership role, meant that they too would successfully direct men.

In the context of comparison with police managers, Shakespeare wasn't too far from the mark when he wrote;

'Some men are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them'.

The lesser known element of this quotation continues;

'Thy Fates open their hands. Let thy blood and spirit embrace them. And, to inure thyself to what thou art like to be, cast thy humble slough and appear fresh. Be opposite with a kinsman, surly with servants '.

Malvolio Twelfth Night (Shakespeare 1601)

Research suggests that historically some Police managers/ leaders have additionally been perceived as having some of the more unpleasant *intimidator /bully* traits to their character - they are indeed surly with those deemed to be *servants*- within or outside the force (Dobby et al 2004; Kingshott 2012).

Whilst the term *leader*, implies a sense of greatness the word *manager*, does not quite have the same connotation either linguistically or psychologically. Stogdill (1974) claims that there are a number of attributes (traits) and skills which together make a leader however, there is little consistency it is claimed, in the traits identified (or missing), in successful leaders. It might be argued that management and leadership are, in fact, two different things.

In organisations, managers appear to maintain the status quo by executing operational demands as effectively as possible, whilst leaders, seek out new opportunities and guide and promote them efficiently in order to direct organisations. This seems to provide a contrast between what may be described as a series of behaviours which are then ascribed to styles of leadership and the idea of the transformer, who first acts as visionary, then transforms the activities of a group of individuals or an organisation.

In a study undertaken on behalf of the Home Office as part as the Police Reform Agenda, Dobby et al (2004) noted fifty three 'management/leader' behaviours necessary to achieve the requirements of the police, fifty of which fitted within the category of 'transformational' leadership having a positive influence on police staff, increasing job satisfaction and organisational commitment. The remaining styles required were described as meeting qualities of competence and commitment to quality and the maintenance of standards of performance and ethics to the police service and the community. On the pessimistic side however, it was found that police leaders were additionally prone to demonstrate behaviours, which their subordinates found to be negative or unethical, noting that they could exhibit various negative behaviours concurrently.

Concerns about ineffective leadership are not unique to the police service as a Cabinet Office report 'Strengthening Leadership in the Public Sector' (2001) stated; *'Leadership theory is driven by conflicting interpretations, in a full spectrum from those who emphasise the primary importance of personal qualities*

to those who say that systems are all-important. Leaders themselves often do not understand the reasons for their own effectiveness[...] Fundamental to improved leadership is a clearer shared understanding of what leadership behaviours work in delivering today's public services [...T]here are many leadership development initiatives, and new leadership colleges are being set up. But there is little evidence so far as to their effectiveness.'

(ibid, pp4-6)

When exploring management theory in relation to the police, it is still important to anticipate the impact of the potential transformer, as this appears to be an aspiration for all officers, according to the NPIA notion of development. More realistically however the public expectation of a police manager may be more closely associated with behaviours highlighted by this research, which imagines senior ranks to be an organisational maintenance 'engineer', managing a process which is solid, reliable and ever present in order to ensure public safety.

4.5 The Contribution of the 'Ologists'

Like Management theorists; Sociologists, Psychologists and Criminologists also have shared and independent styles of theoretical and research responses to community policing matters. Whilst sociologists have generally provided a research focus on the geographical, community based and cultural responses of policing actions; psychologists have contributed to the understanding of communication and principles of community interaction with policing processes.

As a result, they have made a significant contribution to the practice and methods of police interview processes (Shepherd 1991; Shepherd and Milne 1999:2006; Gudjonsson and Wolchover 2006). It should be noted however that changes to police procedures which came as a result of psychological research, were only made possible as a result of serious cases of miscarriages of justice, and were subsequently legally enforced with the introduction of the Police and Criminal Evidence act (PACE) in 1984. Activity theory (Vygotsky 1978) has also been used to explore policing actions associated with duties such as stop and search, traffic operations and community and neighbourhood policing (Allen et al 2008; Wilson 2008.)

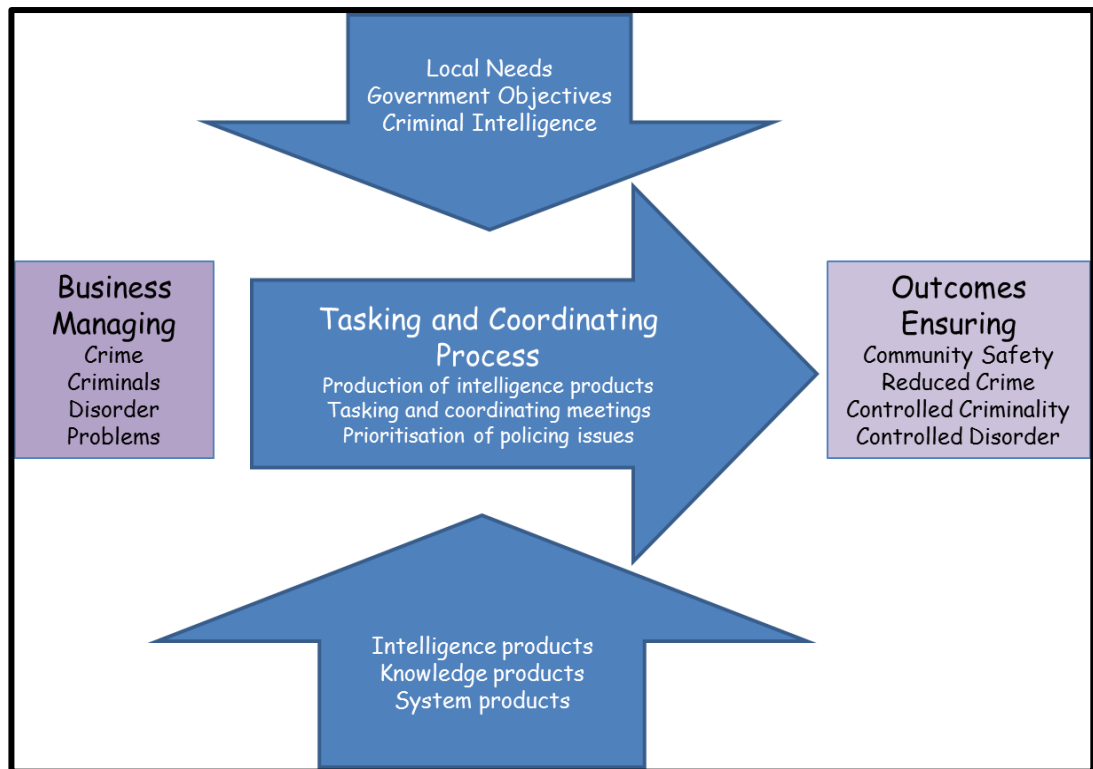
Criminological theorists such as Goldstein (1979) for example, proposed the concept of Problem Orientated Policing (POP). This theoretical concept provides for police to be more problem focussed, highlighting local areas of potential trouble, and subsequently, proactively attempting to resolve crime and community issues before they become of real concern. Highly influential this theory has found its way into both police training and procedure and spawned a philosophical approach to crime reduction, generating additional theory and academic research (Eck and Spelman 1987; Clark and Eck 2005). Whilst the evidence indicates that this method of working is both effective and efficient, its impact in practice has been reduced in the UK because of the influence of NPM, as these processes focus on results and targets; something that it difficult to evaluate within the true focus of POP.

4.6 *Community Policing*

Theories of Community Policing are those whose basic principles are aligned with the maintenance of order, reduction of crime and responses to public (community) needs. Like the adaptation of POP in practice, *Community* based policing and, it's more recent iteration *Neighbourhood* policing, there is a basic requirement for officers to reconnect with local communities, usually in collaboration with other agencies. This philosophy is applied differently within each force area and there may also be variations within the geographical profile of a single force which necessitates different working practices. There are basic similarities however in the application of Neighbourhood policing practice, whose components might be identified as being badged as community policing.

In addition to being described in government review (as an example, Casey (2008) and in audit by HMIC) philosophically this concept appears to be most closely aligned to the historical ideals of a harmonious relationship between police and citizen to resolve community problems. An understanding of Key Information/Intelligence Networks (KINS) for example, provides officers with collection points for intelligence in local populations, the focus of which is highlighted within the National Intelligence Model (2000) which is represented in the following diagram, Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: The National Intelligence Model ACPO 2000



The development of local contacts within the community, and an appreciation of a geographical patrol district built up over time, provide communities with officers who appreciate issues in their area. In this system, beat areas would commonly be managed by a Beat Officer, usually a police constable, who would consequently work and manage the actions of a team of PCSOs on policing priorities in the neighbourhood - usually those associated with nuisance. In addition, officers would continue to work alongside local and strategic partnerships to ensure that issues affecting local people were appropriately managed, if needed, by multi agency responses. Whilst in theory, at any rate, this appears to be an appropriate match, in practice the concept of continuity provided by officers and other front line staff has been known to fail

because of organisational requirements. This has meant that officers have been moved from beat areas, after a relatively short while, or have been *promoted* to other roles within the organisation. This is particularly noticeable in relation to the desire by a number of PCSOs to become police officers. This results in community based officers moving along an occupational conveyor belt which takes them from close community contact, in their role as a PCSO, to a more detached role as a *response* police constable.

O'Neil (2015) notes that evidence suggests that PCSOs are more likely to be accepted by their peers if they show expertise in enforcement, as opposed to community facing duties, whilst Cosgrove and Ramshaw (2013) report that successes by PCSOs to break down community police barriers are being undermined as a result of the police managers and the organisation's demands to focus on crime control imperatives, as opposed to those of prevention and community engagement. For an ambitious PCSO this tension is a problem, as currently there is no opportunity as a PCSO to improve professionally without becoming an attested police constable. Essentially the choice is either to remain on lower pay and engage more with community issues, or become a constable and, in the words of an ex PCSO /new police constable, '*You don't make a difference anymore*'⁹⁴. Anecdotal evidence furthermore suggests that in training environments, when asked with which aspects of policing new constable recruits wish to become associated, very few identify community or neighbourhood policing

⁹⁴ Statement made by a former PCSO who had completed his probationary period as a Police Officer to the author.

as a preference. The irony being, that positive change in society and the foundation for better police - public relationships are made within the community. Culturally, community policing has been traditionally seen as '*rubbish work*' (Whyte 2015), inhabited by basically lazy officers who wish to get out of doing '*real*' police work. Running in tandem with this process, is what has usually been termed a *response service* - this comprises of a group of officers who may, in some districts be largely mobile, and whose role it is to respond to calls from the public. These are the officers who it is perceived do much of the *real work* of the police. Their policing duty may however entail them going literally from job to job throughout their shift over what may, in some locations, be broad geographical areas. In these circumstances officers have little or no opportunity to build up an appreciation of the community, as they tend to see them in periods of heightened levels of stress and anxiety.

These experiences tend to lead to a detachment from community based issues and a depersonalisation from community actors (Harris 1973).

As Dufford (1986) suggests, officers should;

- Always be tough
- Always be in control and able to handle any situation
- Be emotionally stable
- Keep your mouth shut and do your job
- Don't get too involved
- Don't be enthusiastic
- Keep a low profile
- Adapt to peer pressure

- Don't get too educated
- Be strong and protective
- Always be right (don't make mistakes)
- Never be tired, or upset, or 'fed up'.

Dufford (1986, p.9)

4.7 Zero Tolerance Policing

Zero Tolerance Policing is a concept which, for some, is principally connected to theories which highlight environmental renewal and quality of life issues when associated with the reduction of anti-social behaviour, notably Broken Windows Theory (Kelling and Wilson 1982). In a review, Bottoms (2012) considers the impact of this theory on police practices which, as it encourages officers to become more proactive in their control of law enforcement and take action on even the most minor offences, appears to be aligned with the NPM ideals of performance and measurable outcomes. This is perceived as a more effective form of community policing by its champions as it requires a; *'more assertive policing in partnership with the criminal justice system and the community we serve - community policing'* (Bratton 1998, p. 40). This form of *community policing* is not without its critics, as Robinson (2002, p.206) implies; *'Zero-tolerance policing runs counter to community policing and logical crime prevention efforts. To whatever degree street sweeps are viewed by citizens as brutal, suspect, militaristic, or the biased efforts of "outsiders," citizens will be discouraged from taking active roles in community building activities and crime prevention initiatives in conjunction with*

the police. Perhaps this is why the communities that most need neighbourhood watch programs are least likely to be populated by residents who take active roles in them'.

Cox and Wade (1998, p.106) reinforce these concerns, noting the reduction in police accountability and community associations, in environments where zero tolerance has been practiced. A prime example of this being the impact of Operation Swamp 81 discussed within the case study I Appendix 6 (a).

4.8 Research Links with the Medical Model

Much of the research undertaken in policing, and indeed theories which may currently be applied to its product, have been determined from what Sherman (1984; 1992; 1998; 2000) proposes to be a *Medical Model* of research. In this model crime can be *cured* by following specific pathways highlighted by research findings, and Sherman concludes by suggesting that historically the failure to heed these results might constitute malpractice, in the same way that doctors might be prosecuted for failing to keep up with the latest medical procedures.

The testing of organisational systems and engagements in research which now spans, according to Reiner (1989;1992;2010) over 40 years, originated in the UK with an empirical study 'The Policeman in the Community' (Banton 1964).

The idea of evidence based practice, which underpins the medical model and the majority of police based research, is not new in that it produces *instrumental*

knowledge⁹⁵. The processes, which are traditionally applied to extrapolate such data requires that the subject of the research is unambiguous, and the results only advise or guide behaviours which fall within a relatively narrow, well-defined field. They are consequently viewed like medicine as treatments or interventions. As Fedor and Borusch (2000) state, in relation to criminological research; '*there is little disagreement that experiments provide a superior method for assessing the effectiveness of a given intervention*'. Like the critics of Zero Tolerance Policing, discussed in 4.7, highlight whilst the results of such policies may make an immediate effect and reduce crime, what they do not recognise are the other less immediately observable negative impacts in relation to long term community cohesion and police culture.

The Medical Model appears to feed from a *Monistic* principle which Berlin (2002a; 2002b) defines as opposing concepts of *Value Pluralism* which attacks some of the basic ethical dynamics of original research. This type of research appears to suggest that there is only one path or method to truth or knowledge about a subject under investigation, which makes an additional assumption that the universe is constant and consistent. This unhappily and obviously is not the case, but nevertheless the influence of this type of research fallacy, fuelled by the desire of government to stimulate research that will identify 'what works' in the criminal justice sector to ensure a *quick fix for societal ills*' is at the heart of most police based, or indeed, criminal justice based research. Unlike medicine

⁹⁵ An understanding about how we might achieve our aims.

however, police practice tends to be ambiguous, in spite of being guided by a legal framework. The discretionary powers of police officers which historically enabled both equitable and discredited powers of control and decision over the public have, over time, been eroded. Thacher (2001, pp. 289-410) states, that now the problem; *'facing the police is how to apply and weigh the ambiguous and conflicting considerations of desert, equity, liberty, and safety not simply how best to achieve any of them in isolation'*.

This suggests a contradiction to perceptions of the government and the College of Policing⁹⁶ who are celebrating with academic institutions the success of the questionably new concept of *evidence based practice* for policing.

In her speech to the College of Policing in October 2013, the Home Secretary, the Rt Hon. Theresa May, MP reaffirmed;

'The College will work with universities to collect and review evidence on the effectiveness of different strategies and practices for reducing crime. The knowledge of what works - and what doesn't - will be shared with PCCs and the police, and with the public as well. This will help the police become an organisation where practice is always based on evidence rather than habit. The answer to the question: 'Why do we do this?' will never be - 'Because we always have done it that way'. It will be 'Because this is what the evidence tells us works best'.

(May, 2013)

⁹⁶ This replaced the NPIA, and was established in 2012.

Thacher (2011 *ibid*) notes *'Where the logic of the experimental method dominates, the definition of scientific rigor pays detailed attention to how well a study eliminated rival hypotheses (e.g., Sherman et al.1997), but it usually has little to say about whether the research has developed and justified an appropriate definition of the policy objectives that it uses as a yardstick'*.

He continues by providing examples of studies into crime prevention, which focus on relatively clear goals, in contrast to those relevant to the study of community disorder, excessive force and accountability. Such topics may have the need for a different type of research, interpretation and methodology in order to more clearly identify and respond to ambiguity and value pluralism. He argues the need for scholarship that will utilise elements from the medical model of police research, but, in doing so, highlight the dangers of its overuse when it undermines good policing sense.

- Concluding Remarks

This Chapter has consolidated understanding and briefly explored a number of the more common theoretical models and themes associated with the organisation and management of community policing structures. The latter section of the chapter has reflected upon some of the more pressing concerns currently driving research into policing.

Notably absent from this part of the review is a consideration of occupational culture. Research by Waddington (1999), Lofthus (2012) and many others have, over time, endeavoured to catalogue and characterise traits and processes which contribute to our appreciation of the more common behavioural response to police work. In recognising that this is an important area of study, the next and subsequent chapters provide a number of examples of police/*cultural* influences associated with the impact of complex systems. Associated with this debate is a reconsideration of work by Chan (2005) which is to be found in Appendix 8 as part of the evidence base of this thesis.

The following chapter will consider the influences and application of Complexity theory, an alternative theoretical strategy adopted for the purpose of this policing research. This combines process and principle in order to reduce the impact of value pluralism and make clearer the impact of wicked problems on community policing.

Chapter 5

What does Chaos or Complexity theory mean in relation to this research?

5.1 Introduction

Management theorists suggest that organisational change is becoming ever more complex (Canton 2006) and, whilst evidence indicates that some business environments have already accepted such challenges (Eisenhardt & Martin, 2000; McCann & Selsky, 1984; Selsky, Goes, & Ouz, 2007) at a time of unpredictability public organisations appear to be reluctant to grasp this particularly painful nettle. This problem is compounded by the need to vigorously undertake their societal roles with fewer resources and constricting budgets in an organisational environment which has historically evolved with predictability and stability at its heart (Schofield, 2001). In such a turbulent time public serving organisations need to secure the services of leaders who are capable of developing more flexible management structures to prepare for nonlinear activity, and who are sensitive to the needs of the wider environment in which they operate (Shimizu & Hitt, 2004; Siggelkow & Rivkin, 2005; Tushman & O Reilly, 1996). With this in mind The Winsor Review of the police service (Winsor 2011), recommended multi entry levels in order to meet the '*complexities and challenges of modern policing*' (ibid, Part 2 p 111). This is not the first time in recent years that organisational

review has recommended such changes, (Morris 2004; Flannagan 2004:2008; Neyroud 2011). This concept however is not without its critics, not least from the officers themselves (Rennie 2013; Walters et al 2007).

In order to gain a better understanding of some of these complexities, the research within this thesis seeks to reflect a system or structure of working within the police service, whilst continuing to be grounded in the real world. In doing this, the author anticipates that the structure will be tested in order to identify the typically complex configurations that impact on methods of working, and the expectations of those who manage and ultimately are served by it. The research methods associated with complexity theory have been selected and adapted for this research as they appear to more specifically fit with the unpredictable nature and working methods of policing the community, which this research aims to scrutinise. They additionally permit a flexible approach and broad reflection of results including outliers, which, in relation to policing, enable the impact of wicked problems to be more readily recognised. This chapter provides an examination and explanation of some the research terms and tools associated with complex systems.

5.1 (a) The problem with logic

Aristotelean logic suggests that a system can only *be* one thing at a time, either a set of elements, or a whole with developing assets. In order to overcome

this knotty empirical problem it might be suggested that we split the concept of *being*, as far as an understanding of the system is concerned, by considering it as either *relative* (as experienced by every individual within the system) or *absolute* (which relates to the system independent of the observer/agent within). Whilst this provides a possible resolution of one piece of the problem, or to use a *pie metaphor* the first slice, whilst we have one wedge of the pie on our plates the rest of the pie is still sitting there waiting to be consumed (or explored).

As much of academic research funding tends to be associated with the consideration of one aspect of a larger issue it appears to have traditionally focussed on a '*one slice*' philosophy (Argyris, 1971: 1973: 1974: 1975; Hackman and Morris, 1975). This habit of working has tended to reinforce academic silos and research methods; incidentally failing to accommodate an understanding of the bigger problem. It is for this reason that an alternative mechanism was initially sought out and ultimately employed within this research.

5.2 Understanding the application of Complexity

Chaos or Complexity theory begins by providing a challenge to the physical reliability of predictive Newtonian laws, such as gravity, and proposes that they might not always work in a predictable way. Once this has been accepted by physical science the challenge of complexity is easily transferred and applied to the social sciences.

The police service, as a form of predictive physical reliability in our society, supports the structures of civilisation and the rule of law within our constitution and, according to the *politicians*, prevents our society from falling into the abyss of chaos or anarchy. It is thus apt that theoretical components that identify the non-predictability of physical science within quantum and chaos theory should reflect the unpredictable nature of society, and be applied to systems and the management of organisational change within the police service in which it might be accommodated.

Social Science has attempted to make use of research techniques afforded to physical science for a number of years. Burns (2002) as an exemplar, notes that Freud's theories of psychodynamic development engage hypothetically in linear form with the building blocks of personality; each aspect adding to the knowledge built from the last. Similarly the sociological approach until recently has endeavoured an accommodation of formal scientific techniques borrowed from the traditions of physical science.

Stevens and Cox (2007) state that the debates over the use of complexity theory in the social sciences, focus on the use of 'complexity' either as a metaphor or as a hard physical scientific process without apparent direction. They continue by quoting Choi (1993) who notes that individuals must have an understanding about any given situation to enable them to achieve suitable resolution. However, if the processes or situation appears to be complex and their knowledge base is incomplete, individuals will seek out ideas which enable them to deal with it,

concluding only when their understanding has been achieved. They additionally note Chillers (2005) premise that whilst it might not be possible to gain from Complexity theory specific formulae to resolve problems within the social sciences; *'it does provide a new way to analyse and explain why these problems are so difficult'*. It is not then surprising that explanations for uncertainty in the physical or natural world might additionally be the subject of *loan*.

5.3: Chaos? or Complexity?

Burns (2002) and others note that one of the difficulties with borrowing theories from the hard sciences, is that they can appear incredibly complicated to those working within the social sciences and as a result, there are often examples of the linguistic meanings of concepts being misused, or adapted for different use by those hoping to make sense of convoluted issues. An exemplar of this confusion is highlighted by Fitzgerald & van Eijnatten (2002) who note in their editorial to the *Journal of Change Management*, the difficulty of coming to terms with the *linguistic perplexity* associated with Chaos theory. They note, for example, that the term *Chaos* and its associate *Complexity*, which are both linked to theory connected to the explanation of multi-dimensional issues, have, at times been used interchangeably. In an endeavour to address some of these challenges, the editors set about clarification, thoughtfully providing as a point of reference the following table which is based upon work undertaken by Goldberg and Markoczy (2000).

Figure 5:1 *The Components/Differences of Chaos and Complexity*
Fitzgerald & van Eijnatten (2002) - Goldberg and Markoczy (2000)

Chaos	Complexity
How complex things arise from simple systems	How simple things arise from complex systems
Simple non -linear systems lead to complex behaviour	Simple interactions of many things (often repeated) lead to higher level patterns.
How to recognise, describe and make meaningful predictions from systems that exhibit that property	How a system that is complicated can lead to surprising patterns when the system is looked at as a whole
Uses reductionist analysis, explaining phenomena in terms of simpler entities or things already explained and the interactions with them	Uses reductionist analysis explaining macro level phenomena directly in terms of the most basic elements without resource to intermediate levels

Whilst Goldberg and Markoczy have apparently attempted the impossible by simplifying two analogous, apparently difficult to comprehend models, the connexions between the defining structures of these concepts indicate that the principle difference between the two is that complexity seems to be more puzzling in its level of interaction, as chaos starts from an apparent level of simplicity. Hock (1999) proposed the word 'Chaordic' to encompass a system where nothing is ever repeated in exactly the same way, but where, in spite of this, there is sufficient order to prevent the system from becoming an *absolute shambles*. The elements identified in both complexity and chaos, appear to be chaordic in nature. Fitzgerald & van Eijatten (2002) conclude, by suggesting that chaos does not easily sit within definitions associated with models or theories, but it does appear to provide researchers with a metapraxis, which facilitates and

supports our exploration of the world. The 'lens' of chaos, or chaordic vision in this context, will not therefore claim the purity of the lexicon of the 'physical' but rather seek to utilise, adapt and add to a number of concepts to support the further development of understanding.

The following section of this chapter will examine how an appreciation of the basic principles of a metapraxis of Chaos, or Complexity, might be reflected within a basic observational study of a police-directed incident, with specific focus upon the difference between the observed and imagined, based upon an explanation of psychological, management and quantum theories.

5.4 'Thinking' Experiments

In the introduction to his 1944 book, 'What is Life?' Erwin Schrodinger wrote; *'How can events in space and time which take place within the spatial boundaries of a living organism be accounted for by physics and chemistry?*

The preliminary answer which this little book will endeavour to expound and establish can be summarised as follows: The obvious inability of present day physics and chemistry to account for such events is no reason at all for doubting that they can be accounted for by those sciences.'

Such statements suggest that the author is declaring that just because he cannot prove or predict something that is currently beyond understanding with traditional tools, does not mean that he would not be able to do so sometime later, or, indeed, 'have a go' now anyway. Yet in 1935 Schrodinger had posed a problem

which considered the flaws of the application of quantum mechanics being applied to everyday matters. Schrodinger's *thought experiment* considered the life chances of a cat locked in a room with a bottle of poison with a radioactive trigger mechanism. If the trigger mechanism was activated as a result of the movement of a Geiger counter, the poison would be released and as a consequence the cat would die.

If he waited for an hour before checking on the cat, and the radioactive trigger had a half - life of one hour Schrodinger theorised that there was a possibility that the cat would be dead.

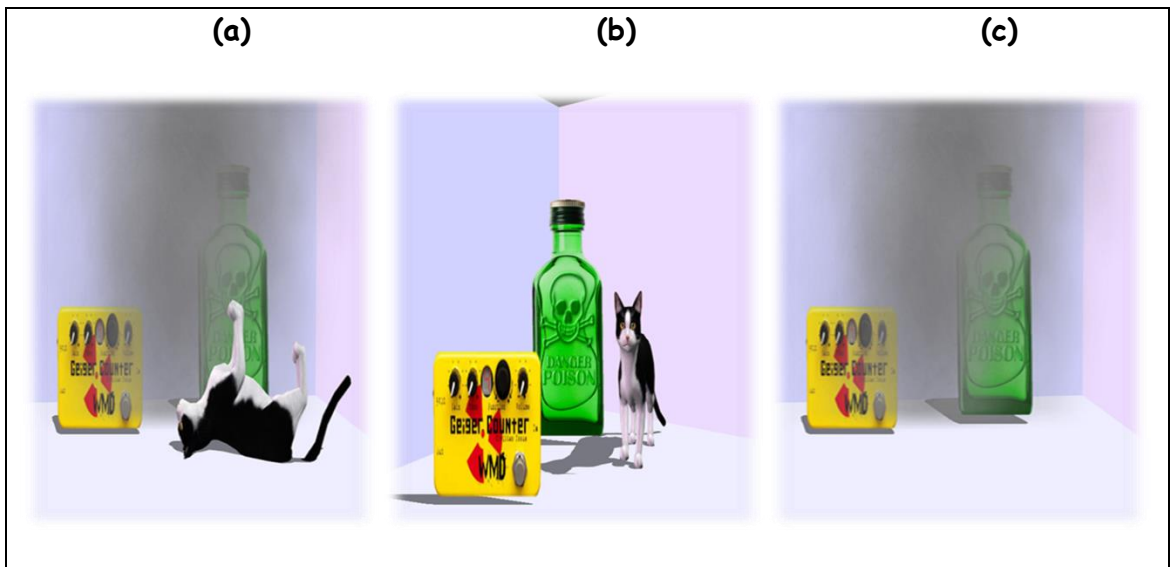


Without actually checking however, he did not know whether:

- a) The mechanism had worked after the time delay of half an hour,
- b) Had worked immediately he had locked the cat inside, or
- c) Might work after he removed the cat from the room.

The life or death of the cat was therefore uncertain - it thus existed in several states simultaneously.

Figure 5:2 Status of cat based on Schrodinger (1935) Thought Experiment



Schrodinger's role as observer also placed him in potentially opposite states. The state where upon opening the box he finds his cat alive, and then similarly, after a negative sequence where the trigger mechanism has worked, and where he finds the cat dead.

Whilst this thought experiment continues as a *thought experiment*, and indeed no animals were harmed as a result (whether virtual or otherwise) it does support the hypotheses that even when experimentally controlled, that accurate predictions of future events, which may be under conditions of observation, are difficult.

Gleick (1987) explains that Newtonian (theoretical) predictability, rapidly falls into chaos when the mathematics and computations improve, and notes that such predictions were never possible where the phenomena existed however common, over time, or where turbulence might be present. Thus, the universal

determinism of nature exists out of reach of humanity's ability to predict and control (Wheatley 1999)

5.5 Observation vs thought

If one becomes involved in an experiment as an observer, as opposed to a participant, it is suggested that it will be possible to study or observe a group of individuals in their natural setting over a period of time. As a result, the observer will be able to provide simultaneous accounts of group interaction and engagement which may occur on a temporal and continuous basis. This '*field work*' focus, which may also be associated with grounded theoretical approaches (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Norton 1999) endeavours to justify results based upon observable consequences of real activities. In a policing environment however, one of the first things an officer learns is that observation and accurate retrieval of events within a witness statement, for example, may depend on many variables. Whilst not necessarily referred to as a variable, the perspective, or witness point of view may impact on the outcome of the case in any number of different ways.

An event such as a road traffic incident may be witnessed by many people who may all recall different aspects of the event, and hold in memory their own variation of their truth of what actually happened. Research undertaken by Loftus (1974:1975:1979:1980) and Loftus and Palmer (1974) provides us with sufficient evidence to cause us to question our own perceptions of the truth, based upon our appreciation of observation and experience. In addition to our

understanding of the event, gained from evidence obtained by our *five senses*, psychologists suggest that our social perception of the situation will additionally have an influence (Baron and Byrne 1987).

Implicit personality theories indicate that we may also make assumptions about the event that will further cloud our memory of the experience (Kelly 1973; McArthur 1972). According to Jones and Nisbett (1972) whether we have been directly involved as an 'actor' or an 'observer' to the incident will also have an impact on our perceptions. Researchers in automotive engineering or physics who review the collision, might feel that the essential focus of their work is the observation of the impact of 'momentum' on the car, or the driver or potential causality, as a result of the incident (Kiefer et al 1999). Even the skid-marks on the road surface will be meaningful as part of an understanding of the whole incident. The event may then be furthermore transformed by the requirement of law. *Did the incident happen, for example, on an un-adopted road? Were there injuries or damages caused by the incident? Was the driver intoxicated? Or was the victim at fault?*

The impact of cause and effect might then impact further, in relation to challenges to prosecution, or changes to the law or the sort of public outcry that results in changes to society. Our research observations have already been driven from the simple to the complex and have resulted in a number of unresolved questions.

Might any of this have been predicted?

One could argue that based on sufficient observations and evidence that it might, or perhaps we must hypothesise that it would not be possible to predict such a dramatic chain of events in order to manage or prevent them. If we do therefore wish to make predictions in order to help explain future events, or prevent them from occurring in the first place where could we begin? Do we consider our initial observations as witnesses to the event? Or do we start somewhere sooner or perhaps later to ensure the validity of the predictions. What we appear to be doing, in our role of research observer, is attempting to intellectually manage the possibilities and the research perspective, fuelled by uncertainty, which might be associated with the incident. Within each imagined situation or perspective our interpretation changes and makes an analysis of the situation, as a whole, which is difficult within the boundaries of conventional research practice. Such is the influence of a complex incident.

What is our definition of the parameters associated with the observable? Is this the original incident or its consequences? Or perhaps our observation should start when the driver involved in the incident wakes up in the morning and has breakfast; but forgets to take the medication which aids his concentration. Any number of factors or variables; physical and psychological, internal and external, may impact upon an event, an organisation, a system an object or an individual which again relates to suggestions within quantum mechanics and the Heisenberg Uncertainty Principle (Heisenberg 1927). This theorises that we cannot precisely measure the position and momentum of a *particle* as, the more

accurately we know one state (or value) the less likely we will be accurate with the others involved. Indeed, one of the fundamentals of research is the minimisation or extinction of research bias, a potentially knotty problem as until the *thought police* become real, how does anyone know if the processes and procedures of any research has minimised potential for bias. Thought, and decision making is not a truly predictive science but an art, and, in relation to the interpretation of complex matters it requires an unconventional approach to its resolution. It is therefore somewhat surprising that in recent years social scientists have become more involved in the prediction of events as part of a *theory generation process* in order to assist the prediction and management of risk (Kemshall and Maguire 2001; Harris et al 2015)

Having pondered the potential for the infinite number of variables or possibilities associated with research of this type, the following section will consider and further develop the use of the dynamic principles which underlie '*Chaos /Complexity theory*', and explain the use of a number of terms of reference which will be applied within the research. This will include examples of the terms used to explain organisational learning and culture and will provide an exemplar of an alternative theory of change management within the police as a theoretical comparator.

5.6 Understanding

By using scientific theories such as those applied to natural phenomenon linked to chaos as a base for understanding and 'forecasting' events in society, it is anticipated that not only will it be possible to authenticate and represent the variables of more traditional research, but also those linked to spatial and temporal processes. This does not mean that 'Dr Who's Police Box', the *Tardis*, becomes part of an aspect of understanding organisational change within the police service, but that time and environment also have an impact upon a macro and micro level in relation to the management of change and should therefore be anticipated and reflected.

Burns (2002) proposes a definition of chaos, based upon a consensus of understanding; *'Chaos theory is an explanation of the behaviour of a system that can be described by nonlinear equations where the output of one calculation is taken as the input of the next. After multiple iterations the calculation takes on the characteristics of non-linearity and becomes specifically unpredictable while all the time remaining in a determined pattern. The chaotic patterns that emerge seem to be bound by the influence of a strange attractor. The behaviour within the system is a paradox in that it defies specific long term prediction while at the same time demonstrating consistent long term patterns of organisation.'* (Gleick, 1987; Stacey, 1996; Wheatley 1999). (ibid p.44)

5.6 (a) The role of 'Attractors'

All systems have attractors, in Newtonian physics for example, the attractor for a swinging pendulum is at the point where the pendulum comes to rest, hanging straight down. The role of the *Strange Attractor* in physical sciences acts as a point to which a 'system' or objects are drawn. But, unlike the Newtonian attractor, it may not necessarily act as a fixed point but draw systems or objects around it in orbit in a '*Phase space*'. Thus, a multiple of strange attractors might impact upon the trajectory of an object binding it into an infinite number of incalculable patterns; no paths of each trajectory intersecting.

Tiplady (2003) suggests that in organisations; values, goals and the leadership styles adopted might represent aspects of the strange attractor; '*Strange attractors are similar and different - they constrain unstable behaviour within certain limits*'. Burns (2002) however proposes that an organisation's ultimate purpose and core values are at the heart of this process. The area within where an attractor has the greatest influence may be termed a Basin of Attraction.

'A stable fixed point surrounded by a dissipative region is an attractor known as a map sink' (Weisstein 2008).

5.6 (b) The Zone of Phase Transition

Stacey (1996) describes a *Zone of Phase Transition* within organisations, which, unlike its meaning in physics, describes a phase of turbulence or destabilisation between stability and anarchy, which enables organisations to work

on important organisational factors in order to better prepare for what lays ahead in relation to change. This may additionally reflect the intermediate period of time and physical space within organisational change processes, when organisations are changing from long established procedures to more advanced practices. Burns (2002) refers to this as the 'Strange Attractor Zone'. This aspect relates to a fourth dimension (or time and space) in relation to understanding organisational activity.

5.7 Applying the Strange Attractor to Police Research

Post Flanagan (2008), the police service is working to develop its organisation along a more effective community-responsive path. Successive governments and social commentators tell us that global populations continue to experience the impact of what is commonly termed the '*credit crunch*' and that, as a result, we should expect an association with high unemployment and rising levels of crime. The police therefore need to align their organisation with the most effective methods of crime management, particularly as potentially they have a decreased capacity to cope with the levels of crime because of the reduction in staffing.

It could be argued that as a result of this, the police service is currently sitting within a *Zone of Phase Transition/Strange Attractor Zone*. Burns (2002) argues that the zone permits an organisation to reorganise, in order to

rearticulate core values and fulfil its primary purpose, but only if it effectively engages with *single* and *double loop* learning.

Argyris and Schon (1978:2) explain that *Single Loop learning* refers to the behaviours of individuals within organisations when an organisation's values, goals and behaviours are operationalised, or taken for granted without critical reflection, question or amendment from employees. They continue by stating that it is important for organisations to encourage staff to develop an appreciation or culture of *Double Loop learning*, as this enables them to better reflect and resolve poor organisational responses and consequently better evaluate and improve the working practices of both the organisation and working environment. In doing this, staff become more confident in post and are subsequently able to make rapid but well informed decisions in uncertain and often complex circumstances.

'Reflection here is more fundamental: the basic assumptions behind ideas or policies are confronted... hypotheses are publicly tested... processes are dis-confirmable not self-seeking' (Argyris 1982, pp. 103-4).

There is evidence to suggest that since May 2006 with the introduction of the Initial Police Training and Development Programme (IPLDP), police organisations are attempting to change the dynamics involved within the training of Police Constables and Police Community Support Officers in order to re-establish proficiency and public confidence; which had been lost as a result of a number of high profile failures (Stephen Lawrence, Fiona Pilkington, Hillsborough etc.) which were largely associated with negative aspects of the police

organisational culture. For a number of Police organisations, this included training links with local universities and colleges, however it is suggested that such partnerships have had a limited success in changing the police culture. This evidence is considered in greater detail elsewhere within the thesis.⁹⁷

The *organisational make-over* associated with a re-establishment of policing values and ethical procedures however, has produced, since 2006⁹⁸, three *re-invented/revised* versions of the central body responsible for police training; the Central Police Training and Development Authority (CENTREX), the National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA), and more recently the College of Policing. In the outside world the more cynical commentator might observe that, whilst the 'brand' changes the core components remain, as evidenced by the continuation in post of key agency staff, which might consequently hinder the organisational learning necessary for the cultural changes required. This is underlined by the withdrawal of a number of community-based police/academic partnership approaches to initial police training, which endeavoured to motivate change from the bottom up; whilst there is still a perception of partnership working at higher organisational levels which may be associated with the access to funding from the College of Policing⁹⁹.

⁹⁷ See as an example Appendix 6(b & c)

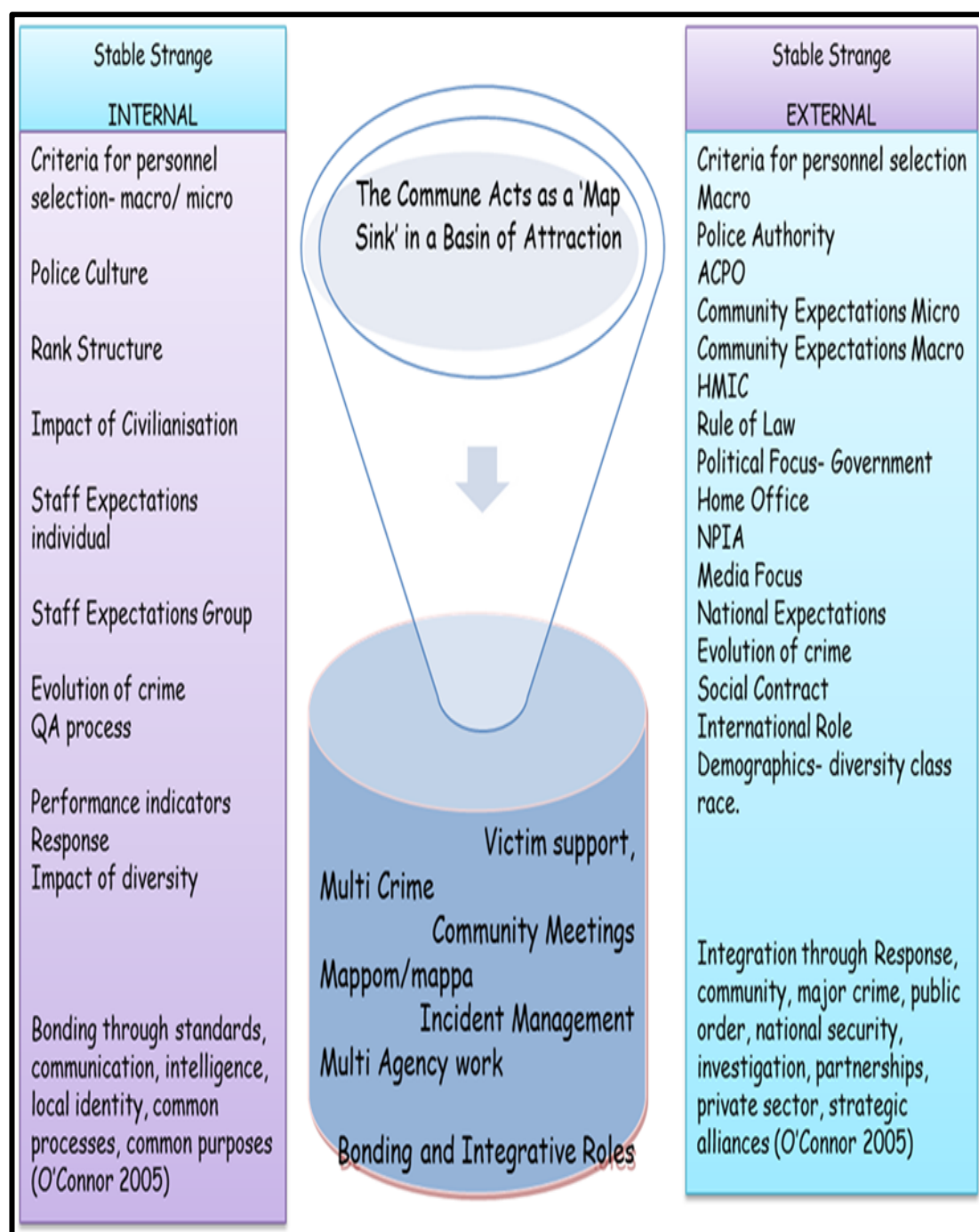
⁹⁸ To the time of writing - December 2015

⁹⁹ This is associated with research into evidence based practice.

The following diagram identifies possible associations with external and internal forms of *Strange Attractor* and additionally shows the influences of basins of attraction. The pull of *stable* or constant factors or influences both within and external to the police as an organisation (or the police officer as an individual) consequently has an impact on engagement within the social or geographical zone of working or the *Map sink*.

As highlighted by O'Connor (2005), members of the public or other collaborating organisations sit at the centre of this procedure and may consequently engage with the police through bonding or integrative procedures or alternatively remain distant. This relationship may change rapidly however if the status quo is challenged or destabilised.

Figure 5:3: An example of the impact of Strange Attractors in Policing-
 Note aspects of Bonding and Integration which are promoted by
 O'Connor (2005)



5.8 Organisational Learning

As formerly noted, Burns defines single loop learning within organisations as the result of individuals or agents learning from others within the organisation, without reference to external dynamics. As long as external factors subject an organisation to minimal interference and change then the organisation will continue to effectively function and meet the external environments former demands. However if the environment suddenly changes, it will not be responsive to new external demands which may result in stagnation and ultimately disaster.

A twentieth century example of such a process might be the post Brixton riot role of the Metropolitan police in the 1980s who, in spite of evidence and legal requirement to change, continued to reproduce behaviours which ultimately led to the botched investigation of the murder of Steven Lawrence. A more recent example relates to changes associated with the training of police officers examples of which can be found in Appendix 6 (b & c).

Double loop learning involves not only a process which looks towards best practice within an organisation for improvement of performance, but additionally reviews and learns from external factors in order to gauge and improve performance, in relation to the '*entire environmental context*'. Stacey (1996) notes that such learning processes are underpinned by a series of schema or organisational rules. In the *single loop* process, agents are compelled to concentrate on the primary task and a continuation of internal focus by means of negative feedback; '*schema which more effectively allow the legitimate system to*

perform its primary task are strengthened whilst schema which detract from effective performance are diminished'.

5.9 The Impact of Shadow Systems

Stacey (1996) notes that organisational 'agents' may belong to one or multiple shadow systems. Such systems do not function to meet the primary task but rather exist within an organisation to support social, political or economic systems. The Police Culture, Inter police organisations (¹⁰⁰BPWA, BPA, DPA etc.), the Police Federation, the Association of Chief Police Officers (now the NPCC), being a newly attested Student Officer and potentially belonging to the *Masons* may all be classed as acting within the police organisation as shadows. Within the research interviews the author found that the role of Call Handler, which was not directly reflected as a category for review, provided an example of a shadow which had a direct impact on the subsequent response to the incidents described by Police Officers and PCSOs.

The schema generated by such systems may be largely recessive but can be used by agents to interact and engage within an organisation in a; *'non-linear process of amplification and positive feedback, in a culture of paradox where schema practiced in the shadow system can be dramatically different from those authorised by the legitimate system. Double loop learning occurs when*

¹⁰⁰ British Police Women's Association; Black Police Association; Disabled Police Association

dysfunctional schema in the legitimate system are destroyed and are replaced with schema experimentally imported from the shadow system'.

(Burns 2002, p.47)

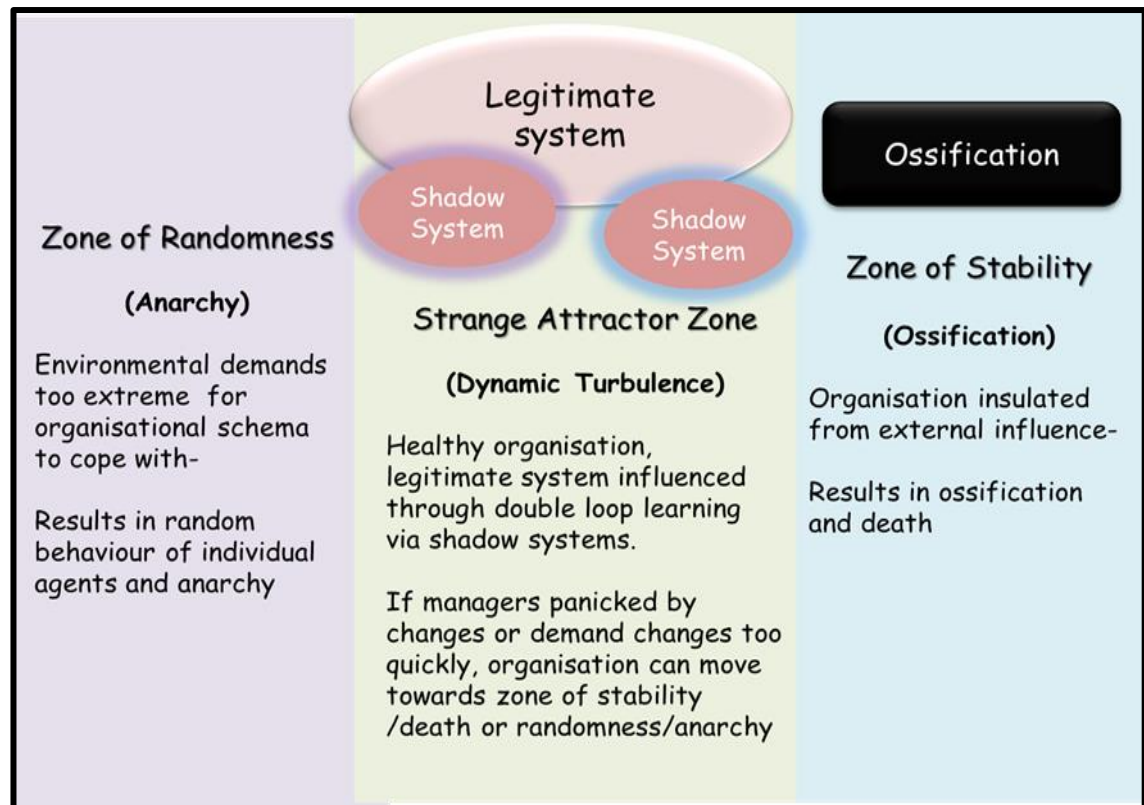
This matter may be compounded by the decision making process, according to Argyris (1976) who suggested that there was a greater likelihood that errors would be made in the resolution of complex problems and that consequently this meant that it was necessary to learn from the methods involved. This provides both the organisation and society with an additional concern, particularly when the influence of shadow systems combines with poor decision making procedures to cover up error¹⁰¹. Initially it is suggested that organisations that adopt shadow systems, as opposed to developing legitimate systems, may not work well, but, that the positive organisational learning that can result, may have helpful consequences. Fear of failure it is proposed, can do far greater harm to organisations, as it prevents creativity and reduces pro-activity. As the Police service has a historical tendency towards reaction as opposed to proactivity in its responses, the fear of failure or the discovery of failure can be seen as a motivator for change but only in so far as the focus of the failure is under a critical spotlight¹⁰². Such cultural dynamics may result in stagnation or, in some cases, corrupt or poor practice.

The following diagram, which is taken from Burns (2002), shows how organisations can respond to the positive influences of shadow schema but how they might fail as a result of 'over' or 'under' protective management strategies.

¹⁰¹ Evidence of this may be found within the Hillsborough Inquest and Inquiry.

¹⁰² See as an example the IPCC report into the Fiona Pilkington case.

Figure 5:4: Organisational Responses to Shadow Systems from Burns (2002)



Evidence of Burns's Shadow systems within a Chaos frame can be observed within other research led theories of managing change within the Police (see Appendix 8 as an example).

5.10 Boom and Bust- the Impact of Bifurcation

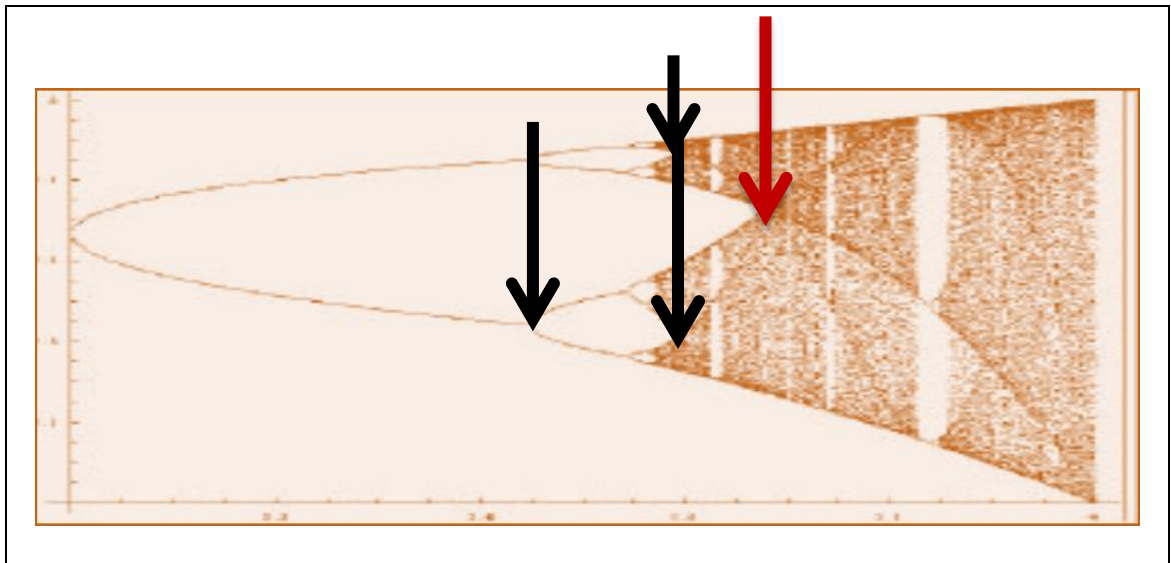
Tiplady (2003) reports that trends in levels of 'change', as their predictive components were called in the early 1970s, were subject to what ecologists originally referred to as 'boom' and 'bust'. Instead of populations generally reaching a state of stability, it was realised that populations cycled between the two dynamics without any recognisable predictive patterns. Tiplady furthermore

provides as an exemplar the situation where, to avoid an epidemic, rather than waiting to see whether a pattern of infection had begun to die out naturally, decisions would be made to inoculate all members of a society to reduce the risk of the virus. In such circumstances, whilst there might be a long term trend downwards; in spite of the mass inoculation, a number of peaks would also be noted. Such oscillations are referred to as '*Bifurcations*'.

Definitions exist in physical research, which reflect the shape and impact of a number and variety of *bifurcations*. *Bifurcations* simply occur when a small change to the external parameter values of a system causes a sudden qualitative change in its behaviour.

The following diagram provides a pictorial representation of a typical bifurcation within the physical sciences. As the diagram shows it is characterised by what appears to be a process which leads to change which then provides for alternative behaviours. Potential areas of change are highlighted by the arrows. Thus, the potential for chaos sits within a number of changing outcomes which may also carry an infinite number of changes and outcomes. As such, the theory proposes that the results of any process are thus unpredictable. The main opportunity for a change in direction is identified by the red arrow whilst others are highlighted in black.

Figure 5:5 An example of a Bifurcation diagram from Tiplady (2003)



A number of these bifurcation types appear to have some value in supporting an explanation for research within social science and will, as a consequence, be considered in this chapter.

5.11 Advances in Technology as an Example of Bifurcations in Time

One of the difficulties experienced in undertaking research is that whilst time may have a significant impact on the issues at the core of the subject under scrutiny, it is not easy to represent and evaluate. From a methodological perspective, cross sectional and longitudinal research procedures traditionally provide researchers with a series of snapshots which reflect temporal developments linked to the matter under review. These might become further manifest in concepts such as the ethnographic present, prediction and genealogical

studies. More recently the opportunities provided by *Real Time Research*, facilitated by the developments in digitally mediated materials provide further evidence for problems in research as well as opportunities; not least the problem of actually defining what it is that you want to discover (Back et al 2013). The example of Schrodinger's cat¹⁰³, shows that *time*, as a notion within research, may not impact on society in a strictly linear fashion. The impact of technology on society might, it is suggested, hold exemplars of a number of small variants of different types (bifurcations) which, over time have made a significant impact to the way society functions.

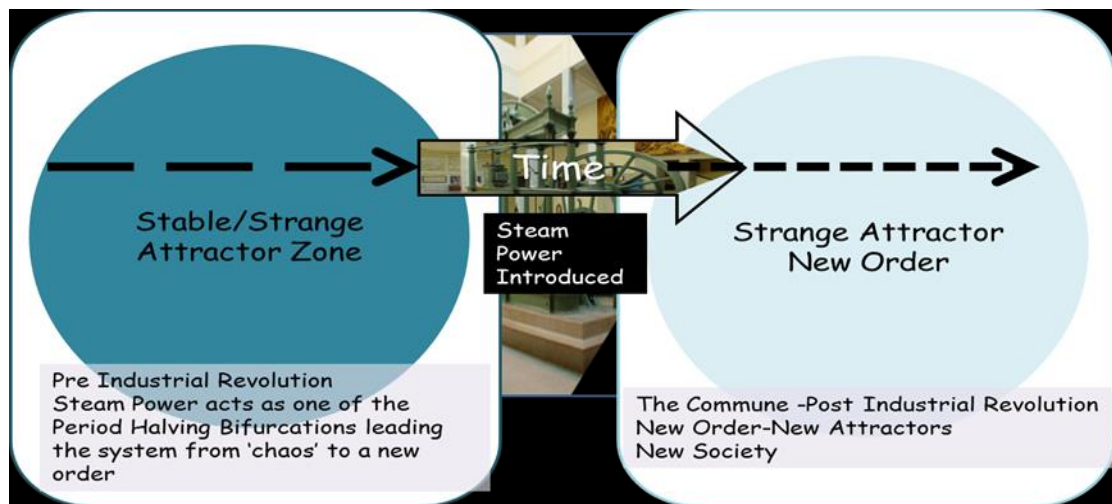
In an attempt to explain the application or impact of different bifurcations in social research the author has used a number of visual and lexical examples to support comprehension. The following example shows the development of technology pre and post the Industrial Revolution, and highlights the impact of steam power by using *change channels* to show the transformation from a state of *chaos or an unstable system* (a. *Period Halving* change) to the adoption of new process (b. *Period Doubling*), post change.

This example indicates the impact of *time* which appears to speed up (a. Halving) and slowdown (b. Doubling) as it impacts on manufacturing processes. This is represented within an application of chaos/complexity and shows the change process from a multi-faceted means of production, as represented by the work of independent weavers within our pre- industrial society (a complex, multi-

¹⁰³ Formerly discussed in 5.4

faceted system), and the impact of the introduction of steam power which drove forward change in manufacturing processes, streamlining the means of production from a complex to a more simply managed system, post industrialisation, subsequently providing order within a new order.

Figure 5.6 Time in relation to Period Halving & Doubling Bifurcations- an example using pre and post industrial revolution change.



Historically the impact of the Industrial Revolution, whilst rationalising industry, ironically created further chaos within overcrowded new communities. This consequence of industrialisation led to new forms of revolution and further disorder (the impact of Period Doubling Bifurcations). Society additionally progressed through a period when new forms of technology had not been wholly implemented and where the old and new systems worked together. This is known as a time of, 'Transcritical Bifurcation'. There are associations with this concept and Christensen's (1997) idea of disruptive innovation, when applied to more

modern technology, and Tushman and Romanelli's (1985) *Punctuated Equilibrium Model* of transformational change.

Technological advances have historically made a significant difference to policing, both internally in relation to organisational culture and practice, and externally, in relation to the perception of the community. Manning (1992a) notes that during the 20th Century a number of changes to technology, which included the introduction of motorised patrol, two way radio and computer assisted dispatch made a significant impact upon the organisation of police work. Technology provides, for the police and criminal justice system, a means of managing political exigencies in relation to performance targets, and the acquisition of intelligence, in addition to supporting communal requirements in relation to law and quality of life. It may be suggested however that with the use of technology comes a level of detachment; and managerialist policing policies appear, for a number of years, to have reaped the benefits of efficiency that performance based policing has brought in relation to meeting targets but at the cost of disengagement from public involvement. Manning (1992a) proposes however that the use of various technologies within the police service, '*have been constrained by the traditional structure of policing and by the traditional role of the police officer*'. This suggests a certain amount of reluctance to adapt to this type of change. It additionally explains why different police organisations may have adopted different types of technology to support policing. This ultimately

means that some local computer-based systems will not dovetail, and consequently do not support national police initiatives.

In contrast, work undertaken by Harper (1991) proposes that technology adds considerably to the tools used by detective officers as it provides them with additional information to support investigation and particularly, 'enhances a detective's ability to bluff', in some situations. This does not necessarily mean that detectives are the most likely members of the police service to embrace technology and expertise, as research by Williams (2004) highlights. He notes that specialist scenes of crime staff were perceived, in some force areas, as merely 'technical assistants' to crime investigators to be used as a tool not as an expert resource.

It might thus be suggested that the initial introduction of a new system or technological tool as a change driver within the police service might initially engage as a '*Transcritical Bifurcation*'. This essentially means that within the change process there is one **stable** and one **unstable** fixed point. Historically the methodology of process, prior to the introduction of the new technological system, is classed as 'stable', and the system post introduction 'unstable'. Their stability is exchanged on introduction (collision) which leads to the unstable (new system/technology) becoming the norm or stable system and the old system becoming unstable.

An example of this process might, in recent policing terms, be the events leading up to, and beyond, the introduction of the National Intelligence Model of

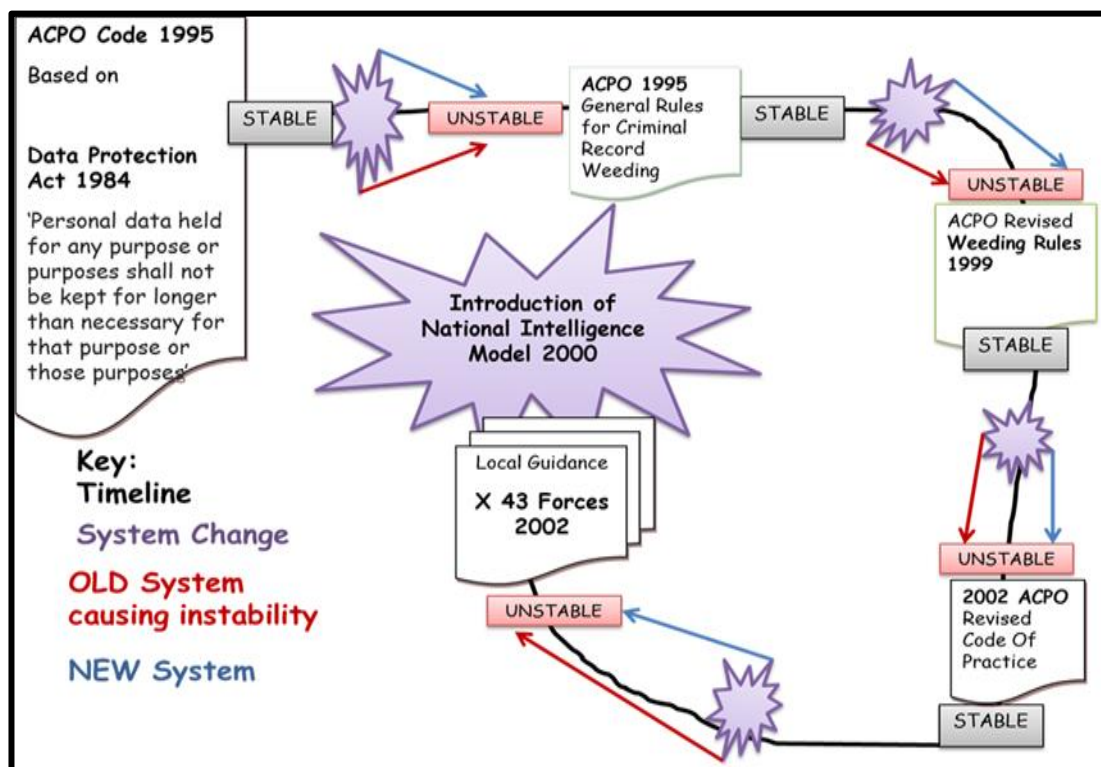
Policing in 2000, which, after criticism by Sir Michael Bichard in his inquiry in to the use of police data and intelligence, which was found to be associated with the deaths of Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman in 2004, was revised.

In his report Bichard noted that there was a; *'lack of clear, national guidance for the police about information management - the way in which information is recorded (and reviewed, retained or deleted)'*.

Bichard (2004 Item: 3.66).

The following diagram, maps Bichard's explanations, and represents an audit trail over time, which signposts the impact of *Transcritical Bifurcation* on the introduction of Data Protection legislation and the introduction of the National Intelligence Model.

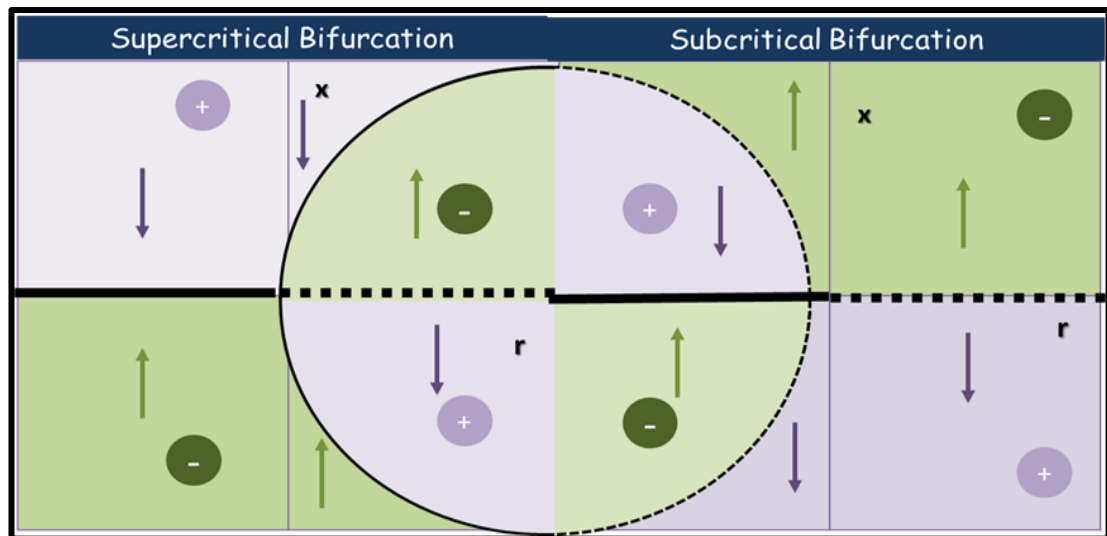
Figure 5:7: Map of Investigation findings based on Bichard (2004) highlighting areas of transcritical bifurcation



In hindsight it seems obvious that where organisations have both local and national goals that impact upon process; in this case the gathering of intelligence, there may be points of 'collision' or vulnerabilities when changing from the stable - traditional methods to new unstable data handling methodologies. These aspects may furthermore be subjects of mixed messages within organisations which make the transitory states prone to additional error.

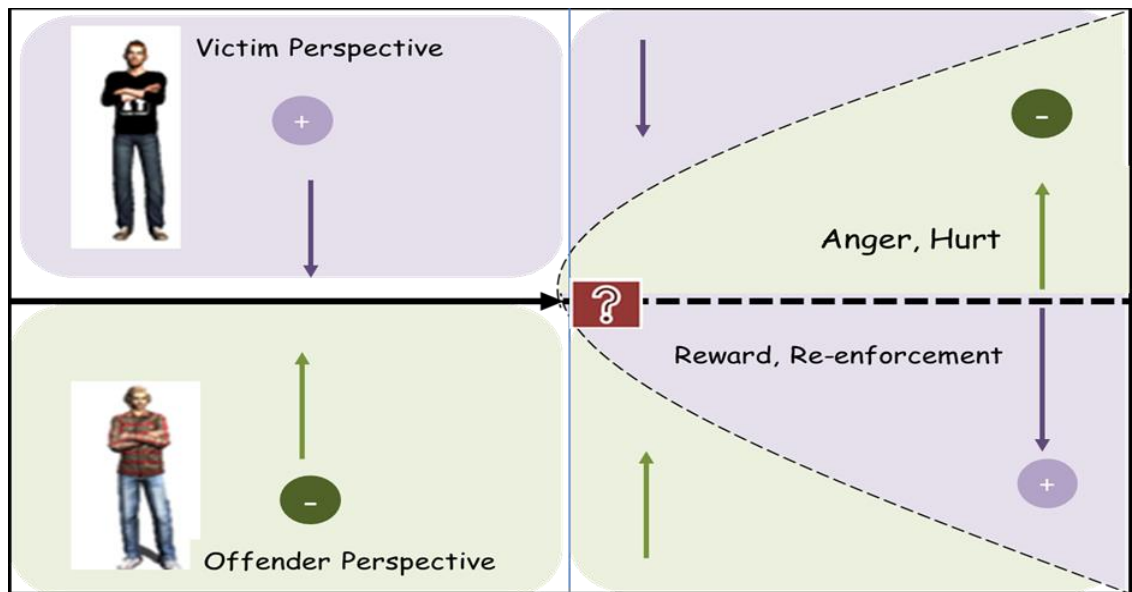
Whilst the impact of *Period Halving*, *Period Doubling* and *Transcritical Bifurcations* appear to exist in a linear form in relation to change, other examples of the bifurcation process may reproduce symmetrical effects which are both positive and negative. These '*Pitchfork*' bifurcations, as the title suggests, may begin on an identical linear route, but, post an 'event' split apart. In physical science pitchfork bifurcations may be found as two types; *supercritical* and *subcritical*. These categories mirror each other. The following diagram combines these pitchfork process in their *sub* and *super* critical stages. Within the supercritical component, stability (as identified by the solid black line) is challenged by an event which leads to an unstable conclusion as options are considered (represented by the dotted lines). Within the subcritical component the reverse is represented as a period or process of instability is changed by an event, the consequence of which leads to stability.

Figure 5.8: An Example of Pitchfork Bifurcations (Super and Sub Critical)



This element of a physical bifurcation can be seen in practical application within a social science perspective in Figure 5:9. As an example, the impact of a critical incident may leave similar but different effects upon those who have been involved. In the following example a *supercritical bifurcation* is used to exemplify an incident where an offender has committed a criminal act against a victim. It should be noted that the positive general outlook of the victim is transferred, as a result of the criminal act, to that of a negative outlook - whilst the offender's perspective might start from that of a negative expectation of 'life', which is transferred to a positive feeling as a result of a successful crime. If we viewed the evolution of the process further and considered a possible resolution to an offence i.e. arrest and punishment, we might consider the impact of a subcritical bifurcation which channels the result to the disadvantage of an offender.

Figure 5:9 The impact of Supercritical Bifurcation from the perspective of Victim and Offender



5.12 The Butterfly Effect

The Butterfly effect as a form of bifurcation has been defined as a 'sensitive dependence on initial conditions' or 'small changes in initial conditions which lead to drastic changes in the results' (Fractal Foundation 2014). With just a small variation in conditions, the impact on an organisation can be significant. The butterfly effect has, for example, been credited with an explanation for society's current fiscal difficulties. A number of small changes worldwide to banking process, coupled with a number of larger scandals, consequently impacted on the worth of the world's stocks and shares and society's trust in financial institutions.

5.13 *An example of the application of the principles of the 'Butterfly effect' to Judicial Inquiry*

Within the chronological process of such key reports as The Victoria Climbié Inquiry and The Shipman Inquiry, themes and issues are highlighted in an endeavour to identify areas of vulnerability, or increased risk, as a preventative strategy for the future. The results of such procedures (lessons learned) are consequently analysed and developed as 'new' preventative measures for practitioners, it is suggested however, that due to the impact of *the butterfly effect* such predictive patterns are impossible to fully apply to future events, no matter if similarities did exist. Such an effect might however be identified in hindsight, as a unique event, that catalyses future patterns of behaviour or vulnerabilities, which, at the time, would have proven impossible either to predict or link to future conduct.

In relation to the *Climbié* Inquiry in 2005, Lord Laming notes that the original passport on which Victoria travelled first to France and then to the UK was intended for another child, Anna Kauso, whose parents apparently had second thoughts about their daughter accompanying Marie Terese Kauso abroad. Victoria was a second choice, and was disguised to look like Anna in order to travel. This catalyst is unique in that under any other circumstances Victoria would not have been the child travelling with Marie Terese Kauso. The unravelling patterns of subsequent abuse, might, it could be argued, have impacted differently upon any other child. A different response to the abuse from the child themselves, or a

change of mind from the families involved, might have consequently changed the behavioural patterns of Kauso.

Since this report was published in 2005, Lord Laming and others have unhappily undertaken a number of similar reviews in to the deaths of young children who have been killed by their principal carer. All have focussed on ascertaining why specific children have consequently become victims of murder; and attempted to identify patterns of behaviour by their abusers which might act as a signal to authorities to act. All of the parties involved in trying to make sense of such events, subsequently direct blame towards public organisations for their lack of insight and action, evidencing preventable death as a result. Such reports provide additional evidence to support the idea that in spite of our understanding of this type of offence, the butterfly effect will continue to impact on events.

In the report published as a result of Dame Janet Smith's Inquiry (2005) into the deaths caused by Harold Shipman, a similar chronology appears. It is difficult to identify a catalytic event in the documents available that would indicate a cause for Shipman's patterns of offending. For the purposes of this investigation, information regarding general complaints about Shipman's behaviour and suspected deaths identified by the Inquiry were combined to discover any behavioural precedent. In the Inquiry, Smith initially reviewed materials analysed by the statistician Professor Richard Baker in order to identify patterns of offending and extrapolate the final number of Shipman's victims. As a result of this analysis, no conclusive patterns were identified regarding any *typical* victim

targeted by Shipman, and no patterns relating to their time of death were acknowledged. The actual deaths, which Dame Janet Smith consequently identified as having been due to the presence of Shipman, provide no consistent pattern - 'Guesstimates' of the final number of victims and the statistical extrapolation appear concurrent at around 200.¹⁰⁴

In spite of the detailed levels of investigation, there is no evidence which might indicate and subsequently confirm the cause of Shipman's offending or the total number of his victims. Even if we link the number of complaints made against Dr Shipman to the suspected deaths caused by him there is no pattern. Dr Shipman is thus an enigma, however, no more of a puzzle than any other offender. If we attempted to eradicate the impact of the butterfly effect for future offenders of this type by identifying a unique event which may have acted as a catalyst within Shipman's life, we would not know where to start.

Based on the evidence discussed within his trial and highlighted within Dame Janet Smith's report, we might suspect that he would be at most risk of offending where; a) he was unlikely to be challenged, b) where his victim was old or infirm and c) where access to the chosen instrument of murder, opiates, was available. We do not however know this proposal to be absolutely true, nor do we know what catalysed his offending behaviour.

In Shipman's case therefore, a suitable *environment* appears to be a repeating catalyst - or serendipity of death.

¹⁰⁴ (See data in Appendix 7).

Having considered an explanation of the theoretical framework associated with complexity, and explored some of the expressions, and their subsequent potential application to existing reports, the next section will consider the role of the leader within change, in particular the leader within complex systems and change management procedures in policing.

5.14 *Leaders and Followers- working with complex systems*

There appears to be an unwritten rule that in any challenging event if a police officer is present he/she will be tasked to take control, (Riley and Meadows 1997), sometimes however it is the police themselves who look for clear direction as the transcript from the Inquest in to the death of Jean Charles de Menezes indicates.¹⁰⁵ In this transcript it is apparent that the intensity of the occasion plus the noise and other environmental activities make an impact upon the clarity of instruction and the received communication by senior staff. In any event the guidance that 'Derek' (an officer identified by the transcript) needed, still resulted in tragedy.

In chaos theory, leadership is not confined to the roles of senior staff placed at the top of the organisational structure; Rost (1991) suggested that, *'Leadership is broadly conducted precisely because in chaotic systems, all agents have potential access to vital information from the environment'*. This aspect

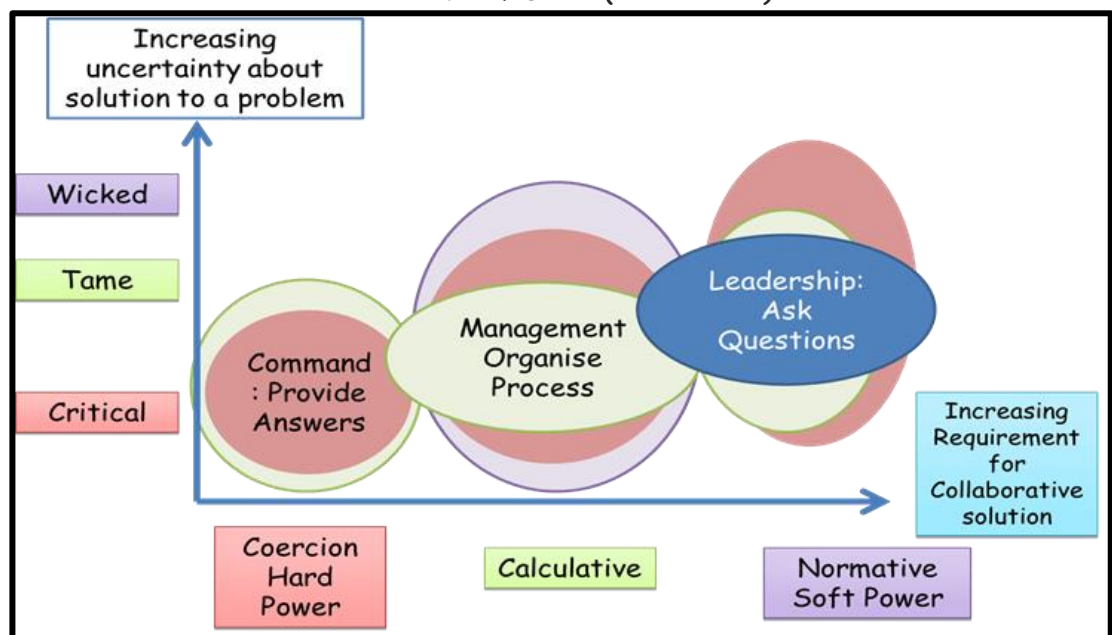
¹⁰⁵ (see Appendix 8)

lends itself well to the role of the police officer or indeed the Police Community Support Officer within the service at large. Rost continues that leadership functions in a number of ways, both inspiring the organisation to meet core values but additionally undertaking an ongoing re-evaluation in order to meet environmental demands. As a result it is suggested that an organisation's purpose and values become clearer because they are viewed from a number of perspectives over time. According to Wheatley (1999) this process enables an organisation to lift its collective vision away from mundane distractions in order to discover its enduring essential purpose. The police service however is caught in an unusual dilemma, whilst the expectation is that officers will lead, and potentially make decisions which might ultimately impact upon life or death, the organisation itself is built upon a hierarchy that history suggests, takes it out of the community and into a militaristic environ. Barker (2001, p.491) proposes that leadership is a '*process of transformative change*' and that leadership is about merging individual ethics with community morals; '*as a means of evolutionary social development*' (ibid). Whilst disputing existing literature in relation to management theory, Barkers statement appears to support Wheatley's proposals.

This dilemma continues to generate a number of challenges. On one level there is opportunity and a need for a broad application of discretion; both within the management of individuals within the service and the response to events in the community. However, this aspect of policing appears at odds with the more controlling features of NPM, and the culture of performance management which

pervades police procedure. Ironically, the positive features of transformative change appear contradictory to the notion of *leadership* for some more authoritarian senior police managers, and *their obedient followers*, who take for granted that the leader will always know the answer to the question, in whatever physical or intellectual form that response may take. This means that they will subsequently be reluctant to ask for direction in challenging times, as this indicates, for them, a form of weakness. There is consequently a tension between the maintenance of a management solution to a problem as opposed to a command solution. In explanation of this predicament, Grint (2005) provides a useful typology which, whilst generally based on military and political behaviours, finds a resonance with the behaviours of police managers in response to wicked problems highlighting, that with levels of uncertainty, there becomes an increased need for a collaborative solution.

Figure 5.10 a) A typology of problems, power and authority:
From Grint (2005:1477)



Detached from many of the theories of management and change is the role of *emotional intelligence*, which is an area that has only relatively recently been considered when considering the good manager within the police service. Schwarz (1990) proposes that emotions play an important role in transforming groups, catalysing them towards change and focussing them upon the four 'I's'; Idealized influence, Inspirational motivation, Intellectual stimulation, and Individualized consideration (Bass 1985:1990).

As Droge and Murphy (2002) suggests; 'Police organizations and police work are *affect laden* because of cultural and social rules and because of the nature of the work itself, particularly as it occurs at the interface with public law and order. Whilst acknowledging the principles of Descartes, '*cogito, ergo sum*', theorists have endeavoured to separate the embodied mind from the principles of thinking and feeling. This has led to the perception that emotions are part of a physical reality that is only acknowledged through the social world (Wilson 1998). Droge and Murphy (2002) have highlighted a number of consequences of affect and its impact upon management within policing, and, have consequently challenged the stereotype of the manager who is able to make rational decisions putting aside personal feelings in order to resolve what may be complex problems.

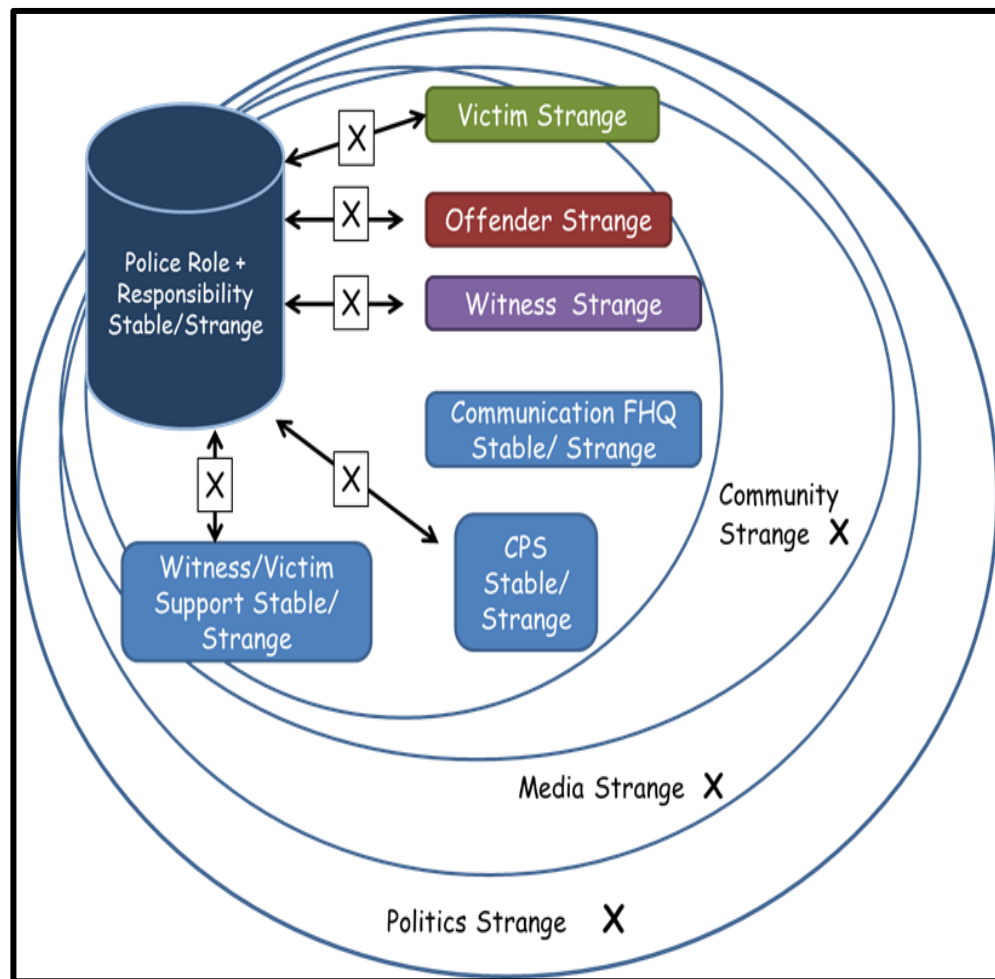
In addition to organisational and political drivers which appear to confound attempts to control and compartmentalise decision and response types, shadow systems, emotions and circumstances, as have already been discussed in relation policing, ensure that everyone involved in an incident will be subject to a multitude

of attractants. These will impact on the resolution (or not) and linear progress of every incident reported.

Figure 5.10b) represents some of the immediate attractants which act to influence behaviours at a simple incident requiring police attendance. Stable attractants are associated with procedural expectations, whilst the strange attractants are those elements which are unpredictable.

The letter 'X' signifies the element which represents the unpredictability within this process. Additionally represented are those elements which may be invisible but, which may, nevertheless be influential to the resolution and processes involved. The psychological, temporal, locational or cultural distance between the influence (or attraction) of these unstable elements to the incident in this circumstance is represented by the concentric rings around the incident itself.

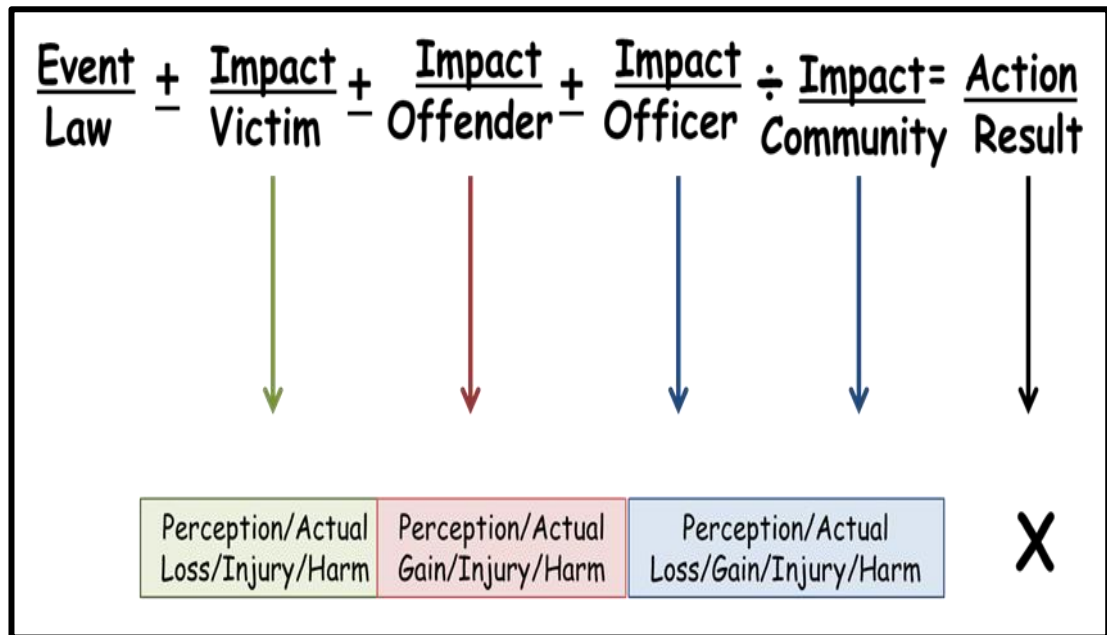
Figure 5.10b): Common attractants at an incident highlighting the impact of an unknown attractant 'factor X'



This event may also be explored by the equations highlighted in Figure 5.11 which, whilst based on the concepts of this research is also more simply reflected in work by Scott (1977, pp.127-142) who sees an incident more as:

$$\text{Offender} + \text{Victim} + \text{Circumstances} = \text{Offence.}$$

Figure 5.11: The calculation of 'X'- the element of the unknown attractant within police incident management



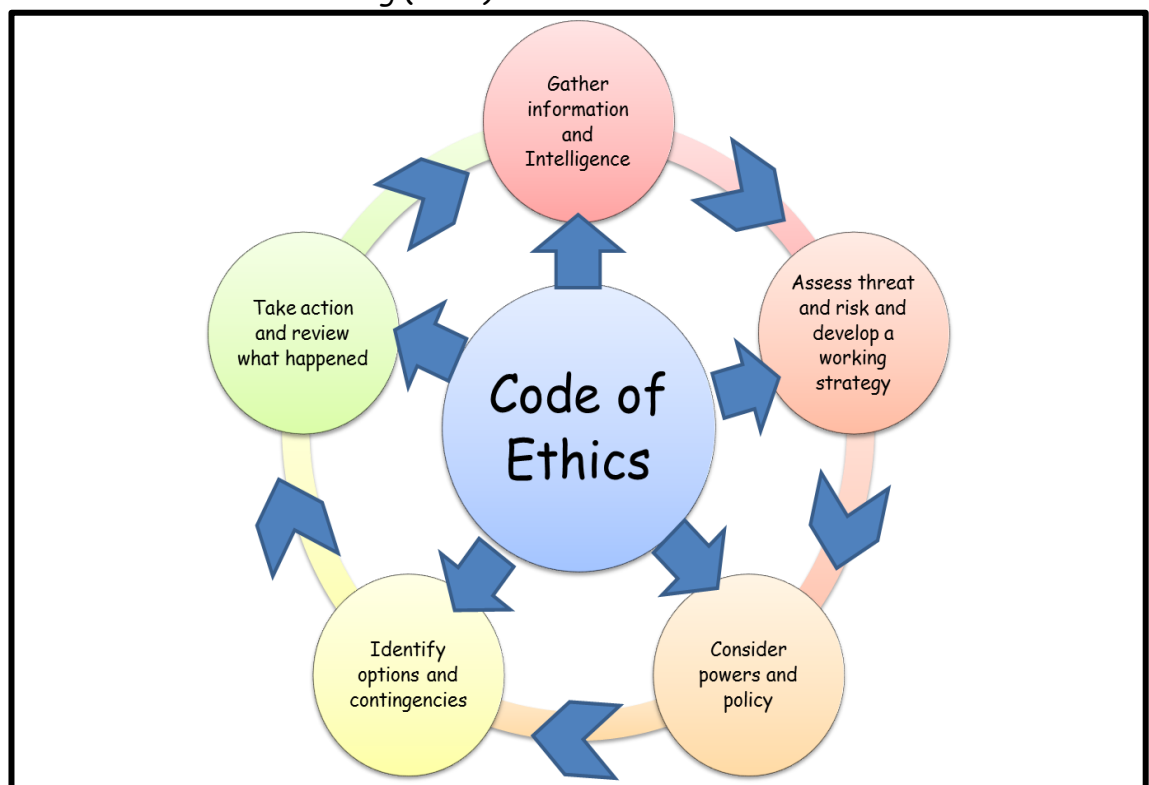
As this discussion has acknowledged, there is a difference between the expectations of an incident from the various points of view of actors both within and external to it and society as a whole. None of the activities may be wholly predicted because of a variety of formal procedures, represented by *Stable* attractors and unpredictable actions represented by *Strange* attractors. In combination the attractors, identified by element **X**, provide an additional and more complex level of unpredictability.

- The Police National Decision Making Model 2011

In 2011, after the completion of the data collection, and, at the start of the analytical mapping of this research, the government introduced the *Police National*

Decision Making Model. This guide was based upon a series of cognitive principles to be identified within a number of former, now decommissioned, ACPO practice manuals. The intention was a consolidation of practices which would support officers in the resolution of practice based problems. Whilst it is not reflected or tested directly within the research, or its findings, as a research variable, the principles of its *pre-adoption* state can be observed within the decisions and judgments of officers within this research, as it is a consolidation of the training and advice associated within practice already enacted. The model comprises six key elements which are used as a hub of a behavioural wheel, a police code of ethical behaviour which requires that officers base their actions and defensible decisions on community and police service professional expectations.

Figure 5.11a) National Decision Module (2011) Based on the College of Policing (2014)



Associated with the core ethical values, officers are expected to apply a full understanding of an incident, including a full risk assessment and a consideration of policing powers, before balancing options and ultimately making a decision, which will also be based upon what is perceived to be a possible outcome of actions. This procedural method of decision making is subsequently accessible for review and reflection by managers as a consequence of action. Similar actions from joint agencies are also required and outlined within this guidance when responding to emergencies.

The next section provides a discussion about additional elements of policing, which again, add to the concerns about the impact of complex policing responses to policing systems.

5.15 *Discretion and the use of force as evidence of the lack of police organisational influence*

The suggestion that the impact of change cannot be predicted within the behaviour of organisations or individuals within the police service, might be further explored by considering two areas of policing, which appear potentially to be the most predictable, in relation to the impact on to the organisation to legal and societal controls.

5.15 (a) Discretion

In an academic literature review which focussed on police discretion, Sanders (1992) notes that whilst there is no legal definition of police discretion the most quoted is that by Kenneth Culp Davis (1976); '*A public officer has discretion whenever the effective limits on his power leave him free to make a choice among possible courses of action or inaction.*'

In trying to understand this definition however, a reader needs to be mindful of the political and societal complexities associated with these actions. Saunders notes that whilst an officer has power to exercise this behaviour, he or she can only do so within limits defined by the courts. He affirms that policing would not be possible without the ability to apply discretion when necessary to resolve complex policing problems.

Walker (1993) and others, have also agreed that discretion is a fundamental component of policing. It might be argued that such a *discretionary process* would (or should) be applied similarly in every situation, by every police officer at all times. However, research collated and undertaken by Chappell et al (2006) tells us that incident components such as, the type of event or offence and its impact on the category of victim/s; coupled with the nature of the local community will have an impact on its application. This will also be affected by; the race, gender and age of those involved, coupled with the physical and mental health and behaviour of the suspect, the seriousness of the offence and the requests of the victim.

Chappell additionally hypothesised that the organisational and management styles produced as the result of legal-political evolutionary changes to policing (potentially associated with NPM), have had some impact on arrest rates; an indicator potentially of the 'non-use' of discretion. Based upon typologies originally proposed by Wilson (1968)¹⁰⁶, and complemented by an appreciation of Problem Oriented and Community Orientated Policing styles (Goldstein 1990), the results of Chappell's study suggests that it was the impact of the local level of crime, rather than the organisational style that increased arrests and decreased the use of discretion.

'The findings from this study suggest that the policing literature and conventional wisdom on controlling police discretion may place too much emphasis on the influence of organizational context. Officers may be more driven by the situational exigencies that vary from community to community— many of which are beyond the direct control of police bureaucratsour analysis shows that variation in organizational context has only a limited effect on officers' arrest patterns, and that these organizational changes may be less than critical to changing policing practices. This suggests that perhaps more attention needs to focus on other aspects of the police environment to refine community-policing efforts.' Chappell et al (2006)

In their search for evidence of police misbehaviour, caused by acts of discretion, government activity and academic research into police work appears

¹⁰⁶ The Watchman style, the Legalistic style, and the Service style

generally to focus on an officer's choice to 'act'; the choice of non-action by the police appears to be a focus of the media.

The ongoing inquest of the victims of the Hillsborough disaster highlights, for example, the impact of inaction by senior police personnel. In this case, the failure to close the Leppings Lane terrace gates; an *inaction* chosen by David Duckfield (the officer in charge) was stated as a principle cause of death of the ninety-six victims of the tragedy. Whilst hindsight may be a good teacher, this case serves to provide an example of the poor leadership and decision making abilities of some senior police personnel. It additionally highlights the impact of complexity, and the need to be aware of a more complete picture, before making a decision to resolve a wicked problem.

The perceived inactivity of the Police, which may be associated with a damaging spiral of offending and a harmful impact on victims, has also been recently highlighted by the media in association with a number of historical incidents of serious sexual child abuse, and has additionally resulted in changes to police procedure in relation to incidents of domestic assault, consequently enforcing positive action.

Accusations of police officers '*turning a blind eye*' to victim reports because of their race, age, disability, gender and social status serve to additionally support theory and research which propose a victim hierarchy (Jewkes 2011; Mawby and Walklate 1994; Walklate 2012). This inaction by the police additionally extends to the type of crimes some victims report.

Bowling (1999) suggests that; *'Rank-and-file police officers saw 'lower level' racist incidents as 'rubbish' and not worthy of investigation and officers were unwilling to ascribe a racial motive to an attack even if this was the victim's belief'*. (Bowling 1999, p. 246).

Such historical examples of police *in-activity* in response to the needs of vulnerable groups, have consequently driven changes in the law and police policy, to ensure that as an organisation, their response to all victims of crime is equitable¹⁰⁷.

5.15 b) Use of Force

The use of 'police violence', more appropriately called, the 'use of force' during suspect police interaction has similarly been reviewed as the result of researched variables such as psychological impact, situational factors and officer/suspect characteristics (Black 1980 ;Kavanagh 1997; Reiss 1971; Bayley and Garofalo 1989; Garner et al. 1995; Crawford and Burns 1998; Adams 1999).

As a formal process however it is legally controlled, and thus, logic suggests its application should be predictable and applied equitably. Crawford and Burns (2008) however found that in addition to these factors, key components were the impact of time and space. Building on the work of Sampson (1993) and others including Holdaway (1983), who noted environmental and spatial impact on the behaviour of British police officers, Crawford and Burns acknowledged the

¹⁰⁷ See for example the Victims Code of Practice (2006)

impact of multi layers of variables but reinforced the 'continuum impact' on behaviour. This suggests that there are always a number of different variables, some potentially predictive, which might impact upon behaviour in relation to officer and suspect demeanour and their potential engagement. Time and space additionally however had a role to play.

'.....the predictive values of variables related to time, space, and their interaction still hold promise. consider a more detailed look at time and space,officer shifts or hours of the day as these variables seem to play a significant role in certain contexts. These findings may help shed light on differing practices among police departments, while demonstrating the complexities of understanding serious actions occurring in dynamic situations'

Crawford and Burns (ibid p.333)

Sun et al (2008) looked further at the influence of situation and the impact of the nature of the local community on 'coercive' or 'non coercive' activities of police officers; finding that situational characteristics played a strong role in influencing this type of behaviour and noting for example, that socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods were more prone to suffer at the hands of coercive policing methods, than were other areas. Sun suggested that in incidents where police officers were dealing with males, minorities and poor citizens they were more likely to engage in coercive activities. This activity was also influenced by the age and gender of the officers involved and time of day. Significantly however, Sun found that *Community Policing Officers* were less likely to engage in

coercive activities. Whilst Sun's research is focussed in the USA it does have noteworthy relevance to the working of officers in the UK. Sun for example notes that Community Officers who are employed to undertake community focussed duties are more capable of undertaking non coercive or service focussed activities but can additionally function in a coercive environment.

Excessive force or Extra-legal force, it is suggested, may be better explained by 'Angry Aggression Theory'. This proposal, according to Griffin and Bernard (2003) highlights the chronic anxiety and high levels of arousal caused by police work to some police officers who may, by the nature of their societal role be socially isolated. It suggests that this results in a perception that there are constant threats associated with police work to which they need to prepare a response. The chronic levels of arousal are subsequently transferred to an aggressive response to society, which, over time become 'sub cultural' and embedded in values and norms within the organisation. As they often are not in a position to respond to the direct cause of their arousal, they will transfer aggression and threats onto more accessible vulnerable targets.

If the combined, albeit somewhat restricted, research and underpinning theories already explored are to be believed, there are a number of discrete elements which might impact upon an officer's efficacy within local communities. These behavioural aspects provide explanations of some of the additional *attractants* which might affect the behaviours of officers or police *agents* working within local communities. Researchers considering the impact and

application of discretion and force appear to recommend that a multivariate blanket of rationales might be applied (in hindsight) to understand behaviour when viewed in association with incident response.

- Concluding Remarks

Because of the lack of certainty within organisational and individual responses to police incidents there is some dynamic detachment between reality and predictability. Whilst themes and general predictors of behaviours might be identified by academic research; because of contextual variables the actual potential to accurately predict officer's actions and engagement in community affairs appears reduced. Complexity theory provides an opportunity to provide a more dynamic explanation and representation of police behaviours in their responses to issues within communities. It additionally facilitates a practice-based active application of a rigorous academic procedure and theory, which does not normally consider the potential for utilising additional *raw* research materials which exist just beyond the immediate boundary of the research. If a research process can be replicated and visually explained it is thus valuable to our understanding of the dynamics of policing. Later chapters will demonstrate the ability of complexity, supported by visual mapping, to do this in order to more accurately reflect community policing processes.

In a forensic crime scene setting, the evidence of absence is not the same as an absence of evidence. There is no Occam's razor¹⁰⁸ as far as researching community policing is concerned. This mirrors the differences between some

¹⁰⁸ A line of reasoning which suggests that the simplest solution to a problem is often the most sound.

traditional approaches to police research, where an absence of an element is considered to be an absence in total whilst, in complexity research, it is highlighted more distinctly as absence or presence due to circumstance.

As a result of this observation, a visual representation of process has been adopted in this research to better represent those peripheral elements which, whilst so important to understanding the complete situation, may be dismissed as outliers in conventional research. Whilst the maps involved in researching police processes are explored later in this thesis, the following chapter reviews evidence which emphasises the efficacy of visual research methods in social research.

Chapter 6

The Use of the Visual in Social Research

6.1 Introduction

The result and analysis of academic research in the social sciences is more commonly expressed by means of *the written or lexical as opposed to the visual*.

This research however is unique in that on the subject of its research- community policing, it has combined the methods of both research analysis and the presentation of results by using visual methods. This is in contrast to what Purwar (2009, p. 382) describes as *the 'the recent fetishisation of visual methods'* which has tended to focus on multi layered visualisation methodologies or photographic evidence (Galman 2009; Pink 2007; Crilly et al. 2006).

Engagement with the visual does not just mirror a viewer's engagement with diagrammatic form or image. As Bartes (1982, p. 10) suggests, the *'Operator's emotion had some relation to the "little hole" (stenope) through which he looks, limits, frames, and perspectivizes when he wants to "take" (to surprise)'*. Thus, the method of writing and presenting academic work also makes an impact and it is for this reason that the researcher has chosen to present the result of this research in *Comic Sans Serif* type font as opposed to using an alternative more traditional academic font. This decision was taken as a result of a review of

research into the legibility and psychological processing of various, commonly used typefaces, in particular, those which are more legible and easy to process *on-screen* as, in its final form, this work will be accessible electronically/virtually as well as physically.

A brief discussion of relevant evidence is to be found in the final section of this chapter.

6.1 (a) Context to the choice of a visual approach to the research

Visual research according to Prosser (2007), enables researchers to produce, organise and interpret images in order to collect, generate or find research data. Historically there have been a number of challenges to engagement with visual research methods; principally because of the lack of guidance as to how to apply visual data (Rose 2014). Carr (2007) indicates that such challenges additionally impact on the methods used to collate, analyse and disseminate the product of such research, which may cause visual researchers to step back to a more comfortable empirical position, in an endeavour to categorise visual materials as *quantitative* or *qualitative* data.

The '*Visual*' within empirical social research, which is seen by some as visual sociology (Grady 2008; Harper 1988; Pauwels 2010), has traditionally been broadly utilised in two ways, both of which provide a realist perspective which grants preference to the status of the existence of a visual form of understanding over

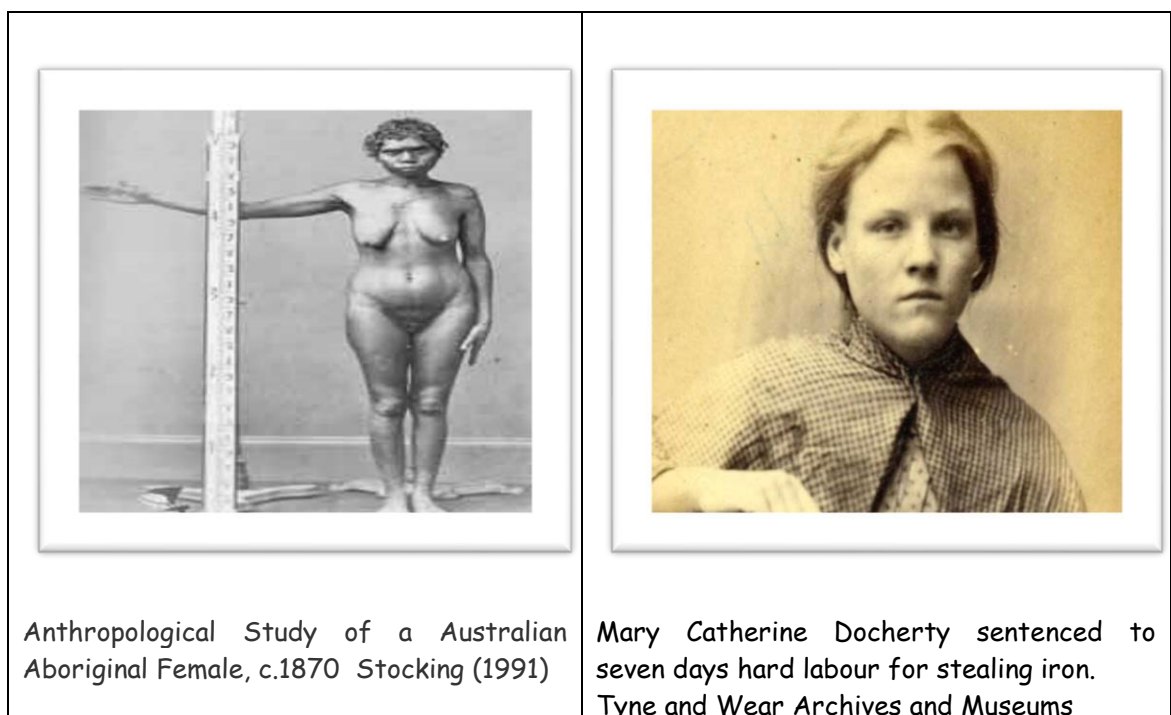
the lexical. The first is *Visual Elicitation*, which is associated with the generation of pictorial media by the researcher (or research participant), in relation to the creation of *reflective descriptions* of the subject matter under investigation. This may be by means of drawings/sketches, photographs, graphs, diagrams or film in order to facilitate an understanding of the research subject, or alternatively, as part of the organisation of research findings (Schratz and Steiner-Löffler 1998; Harper 2002; Cremin et al. 2010).

The second mode of adoption of the visual is *Visual Content Analysis*, the study of imagistic materials and illustrations in order to generate an understanding of society, as it is reflected by the materials under scrutiny, (Banks 2007; Banks 2005; Prosser 1998). Both of these methodological tools for research have been adopted, and successfully applied, by researchers for a number of years.

As an example of the latter form, early Victorian anthropological studies, significantly utilised opportunities provided by the development of photography, then, a new technological innovation, to compare, codify and categorize *native* communities and consequently make and evidentially support scientific judgements about them. This work considerably influenced our understanding of the peoples' of the world. Similar historical anthropological research viewed the 'criminal communities' within society (see Figure 6.1) and additionally, reflected in the work of Cesare Lombroso and Francis Galton (See also work by Ruby 2006; Banks 2001; Pink 2001 and Emmison and Smith 2000).

Like the fundamental criticism of modern empirical research, these snapshots of alternative societies may have provided their academic observers with an opportunity to mirror, in their writing, less than honest reflections of reality as such images were further explored (contextualised) by their creators, as a reflection of their interpretation of the world. As a result, they may thus have been influenced by some of the commonly held prejudices and misunderstandings of humanity existing at the time. Unlike more traditional methods of research, they still exist as *everlasting* visual evidence which means that, whilst they may be seen by modern researchers as possibly *subjective*, as artefacts of research, they are open to review over time by new researchers who may find within them multiple meanings and deeper levels of reflection (Mehan 1993).

Figure 6:1 Examples of photographic influencers



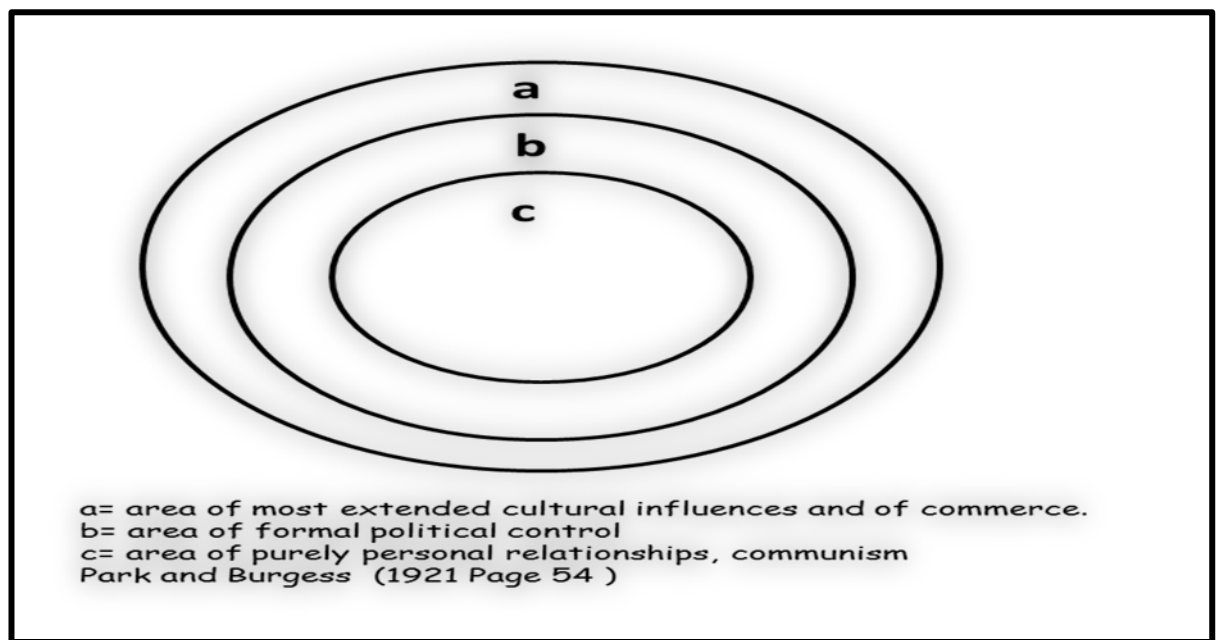
Visual research permits a truly trans-disciplinary approach to the organisation and presentation of research content, as it may adopt materials and research strategies from a number of perspectives, in order to reflect themes. Within this research for example, theories and methods have been adapted from psychology; anthropology; criminology; media and computer studies; cultural geography and physical science as well as education.

Visual methodologies additionally lend themselves to association with mixed method and grounded research procedures (Greene 2007; Onwuegbuzie et al. 2007; Cresswell and Plano-Clark 2007). As a result they tend to challenge traditional research paradigms as they may encourage multiple perspectives of the research subject as opposed to solely reflect the stand point of the researcher (Alise and Teddlie 2010)

In an example of an alternative adoption of the visual to research, the following, diagrams, which were originally produced by the *Chicago School* in the 1920s, provided a simple but effective method of showing societal disintegration and reflect a *Visual Elicitation* approach.

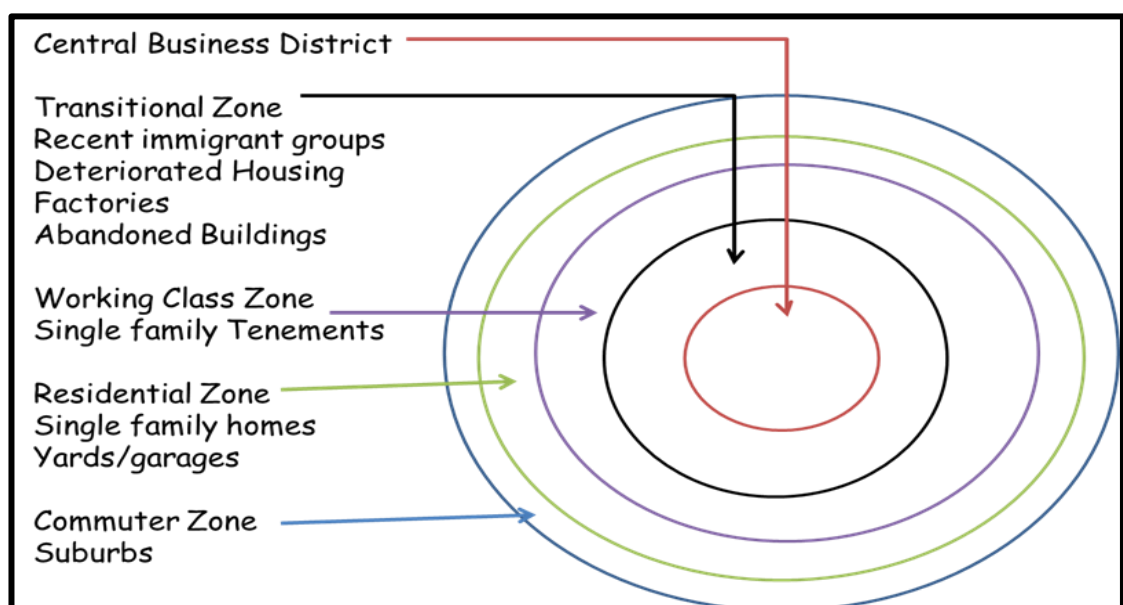
The work undertaken by Park and Burgess (1921) represented in the following diagram (Figure 6.2), not only provides a foundation for developments in understanding societal behaviours in relation to crime and social privation; but also an appreciation of context, which has subsequently proved influential in the development of criminological and sociological theory (see Figure 6.3).

Figure 6:2 Concentric Zone Model from Park and Burgess (1921)



As these diagrams suggest, this simple plotting of community influences facilitated further theoretical advancement and, consequently, the Concentric Zone Model provided researchers with a more detailed appreciation of society.

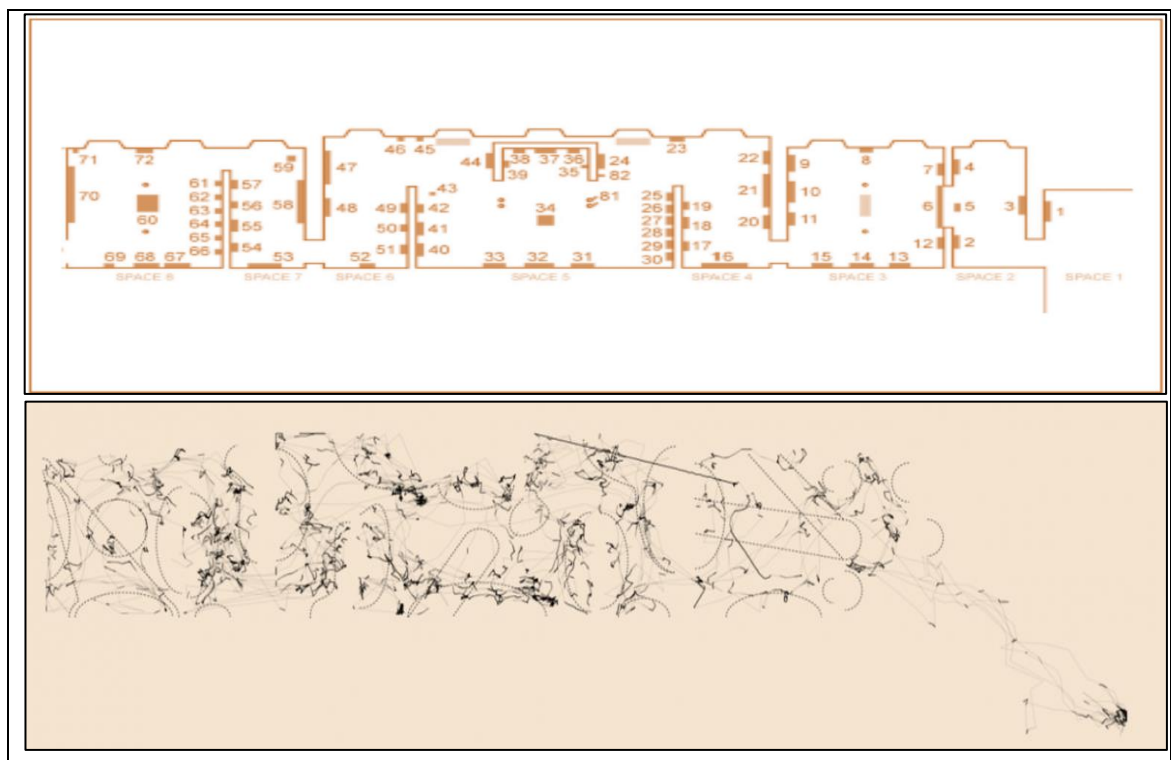
Figure 6:3 Shaw and McKay (1969) The Concentric Zone Model



A third methodological group (spurred on by postmodernism), has consequently evolved which embraces and combines both the analysis of existing images and the development of a representation of society. These methods provide an opportunity to by-pass language and narrative (Worth and Adair 1972), which might otherwise provide the observer with the lens of contextual influence inhabited by the creator.

An exemplar of this more sophisticated form of representation is to be found in the work of, amongst others, Trondle and Tschacher (2012) in their *e-motion* project which tracked the movements of visitors to a museum exhibition around the display.

Figure 6:4 Floor plan and mapping points of the Kunstmuseum St Gallen Trondle and Tschacher (2012p 81)



This work is significant to the ethos of this study as it enables the observer to inhabit the same research space as the creator of the work. The movements of the Museum visitors are shown in detail and, with *relatively* little additional guidance, are easy to understand, there is thus little room for the creator of this work to influence the observer about what they should focus on within the research, as the results are visually accessible, and not complicated by the linguistic intervention or translation/interpretation by the researchers.

6.2 Visual Methodologies within this Research- Influences and Applications.

More recently, researchers have begun to focus on the *visual* within studies of management and organisations (Acevedo and Warren 2012; Bell and Davison 2013; Broussine and Simpson 2008), and it is in the application of visual data methodologies in this context, that the research analysis and representation of results of this work is focussed. Banks (2011, pp. 75-76) states; '*The issue is not so much one of representation but of epistemology. If there are ways of knowing the social world that are independent of language , then some would argue that creating film¹⁰⁹ is a suitable way to explore and represent that knowledge*'.

Work undertaken by Mittleton-Kelly (2003;2004;2004;2006a;2006b;2011) provides additional exemplars and the subsequent inspiration for the more

¹⁰⁹ Authors emphasis as this might relate to any media

practical application of a visual research process in order to more fully appreciate the impact of complexity on organisational working practices and problem solving.

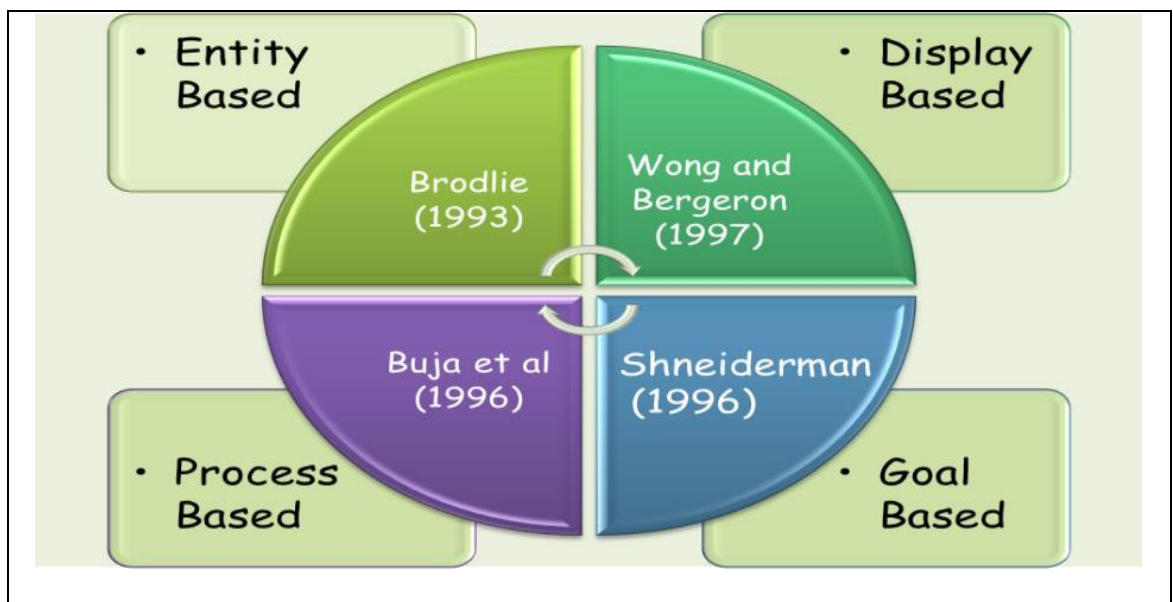
In further justification of this principle, Grimshaw (2001) states that certain adjustments to research perspectives are required, in order to ensure that researchers appreciate more fully, that language *might not* provide the principle approach to their work, instead, they might appreciate a '*re-embodiment of the self as the foundation for renewed engagement with everyday life*'. Taking a more positivist approach in relation to the verification of methods used, this contrasts to the perception of Heider (1976, p127) that the production of 'film' alone as a representation of research, without a written guide, would undermine the content and would consequently, '*result in little more than an illustrated lecture*'. With this warning in mind, the visual analysis and representations of process within this work have been supported within a linguistic framework.

According to Dzemyda et al (2013); '*The fundamental idea of visualization is to provide data in some visual form that lets humans understand them, gain insight into the data, draw conclusions, and directly influence the process of decision making*'. Such methods are not without their limitations however, as negative results have been identified in a number of studies (Marchak, & Marchak, 1991; Marchak & Whitney, 1990; Marchak & Zulager, 1992). Data visualisation however has secured the support of numerous researchers (Lofthus 1993; Feldman & Pastizzo, 2001; Pastizzo & Feldman, 2002; Smith and Prentice 1993), who feel that such methods provide researchers with opportunities to identify

dynamic patterns that might not be evident within descriptive statistical analysis. The latter experience has become evident within the mapping process within this research, as this has not only provided occasions to identify and reinforce the impact of complex structures, but has additionally provided opportunities to view this through time and space - *Spatio-temporality*. This concept revises the work of Trondle and Tschacher (2010), formerly noted, in that it has the potential to additionally remove the researcher's translation of events.

Rodrigues dos Santos (2004) states, that there are four main classification mechanisms for visual data analysis. These mechanisms, with their principle advocates, are identified within the following diagram, which is based on his examination of computer based research.

Figure 6:5 Classification schemes for visualization methods in computer based research based on Rodrigues dos Santos (2004)



The mapping process adopted by this research has been consequently developed as a result of the blending of a number of these approaches. This methodological hybrid has taken, for example, features and components from Buja et al (1996) *Data Visualisation Taxonomy*, which is identified as a *Process* based methodology. Part of the mapping procedure has utilised the adoption of *Glyphs*, which are identified as features of each vignette by the Key, and *Traces* which map functions and activity. Together these elements with other characteristics facilitate comparison and responses to questions thus enabling the audience to find *Gestalt*¹¹⁰ as part of an Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) (Tukey 1977). In this example, the concept/theory of *Gestalt* might be used as an explanation for interactions within the visualisation and as underpinning aspects of the audience's perception; as, within the maps of policing process, the intention of the researcher is to provide the audience with a complete picture of *possibility*, as reflected by the responses from the research subjects.

The work of Wong and Bergeron (1997), which Rodrigues dos Santos classes as display based, has also been influential as a multivariate technique. Rodrigues dos Santos notes that; '*The determining features of this category are: the output of coloured and relatively complex images (which usually means a steep learning curve for the users); a high-speed generation of display to support a considerable degree of interaction; and finally, the ability to deal with more complex dataset's*' (2004, p. 26)

¹¹⁰ A holistic method of viewing systems and processes.

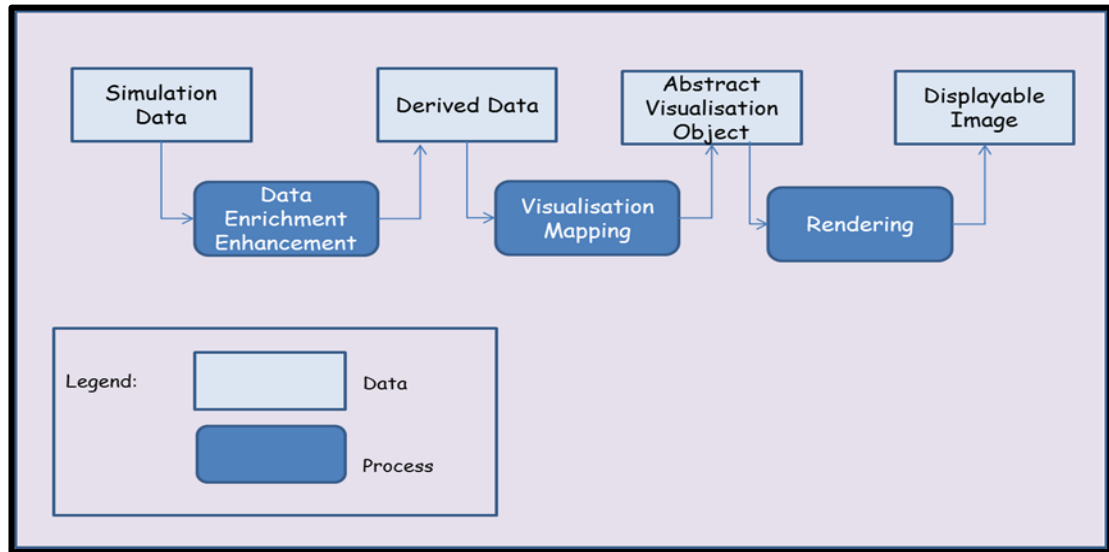
Brodie's (1992) 'E notation' which philosophically advocates the need to represent the 'entity' or subject of the research, as opposed to just the data, has, as a consequence influenced the basic concept of the mapping (classification) process. This is specifically reflected in the representation, within the work, of the *zones and basins of attraction*.

6.3 The use of Formal Visualisation Models

Whilst the mapping process of this research has been explained in some detail within the methodology chapters of this work, it is useful to reiterate that these practices have their foundations across disciplines and may consequently, be associated with methods and models of sound research practice from other fields of research.

Computer technology provides examples of suitable methodological practices involved with the data visualisation process, which can be associated with social science research. The Haber-McNabb (1990) Dataflow Model thus reflects principles that have been adapted for this work.

Figure 6:6 Haber-McNabb (1990) Dataflow Model for Scientific Visualisation



Techniques of data visualisation would not be possible in this research without an appreciation of the *semiotic*, or the meaning of signs. This analytical structure provides associations with other research disciplines. In this research, signs have been used quite literally to transform the research interviews into their visual (symbolic) meanings in order to avoid the plurality of meaning often found within texts. Critical semiotics (Schroeder 2006) regards the relationship between the signifier, in this research - the language used in the interview, and the signified (the meaning); and, in order to provide a suitable, equitable landscape from which to make comparison across subject groups, the signifier has been distilled into an *image form*, thus developing, a unique sign system to facilitate *semiological*¹¹¹ analysis. As highlighted in work by Eppler (2006), advantages of visualising the data from the cross analysis of the subject groups is, that it allows

¹¹¹ Semiological analysis involves the interpretation of visual signs in relation to broader structures of cultural meaning

two kinds of visual data; that which reflects the more disordered development of the research method and the clearer final mapping, which is more clearly understood.

The results of an interdisciplinary theoretical emphasis on *visual rhetoric* and *multimodal* approaches to the analysis of data, is thus intended to generate a dynamic relationship between the researcher, the content of this work, and the reader/observer. This relationship is further emphasised by means of the written and electronic versions of this work.

6.4 *Arguments associated with the use of Comic Sans Serif Font in this Thesis*

Savage (2010) notes that social science research methods generate and reinforce academic social groups. This, it is further contested, serves to reinforce the utilisation of specific types of research device, thus the use of innovative research methods becomes aligned to an affiliation with quasi *political methods* as it; '*establishes not just technical competence but also social distinction*' (Rose 2014, p.24).

Academic researchers have for some time investigated the application and interpretation of typefaces in relation to learning, but also their influence on other cognitive processes. Traditionally this has involved debates around readability and whether typeface designs, which, principally affect legibility, has an impact. Much influential work has been undertaken in relation to fluency, for example, which has consequently impacted on user engagement with language,

particularly for those readers who may have a learning difference. Whilst it is commended for its accessibility, Comic Sans font is disliked by many academics as it is seen as lacking a sense of *gravitas* traditionally associated with academic work (Haley 2012).

As previous sections have indicated however, the design and visualisation of content enables readers to access information with a clarity not experienced solely within language based research. Design therefore, can help the reader both interpret the message and associate it with an emotional response (Koch 2012). Whilst Comic Sans font does not appear to have been specifically identified as having unique qualities when directly considered in relation to dyslexia, it has provided academic interest in relation to research in cognition and memory particularly in relation to disfluency.¹¹² Diemand-Yauman et al (2011) found that written materials which were slightly harder to read, such as those presented in Comic Sans font, engendered deeper levels of cognitive processing, engagement and subsequent learning in their study group. As a result, a combination of the visual mapping process and the design of the presentation, according to Robinson (2004) enable's an integration of Barthes emotional awareness of the subject matter, within a potentially dissonant linguistic frame. This means that the reader's intellectual engagement with the research may become emotionally appealing or alternatively uncomfortable, as a result of the additional cognitive demands made on them, by the visual/lexical and semiotic presentation. The

¹¹² The subjective experience of difficulty associated with cognitive operations

analysis and presentation of materials within this dissertation is thus intended to engage the reader on a number of levels.

As a result of the application of *unusual* research techniques to the research question, this research evidences the possibility of breaking down research boundaries traditionally imposed, according to Savage (2010), by formal academic research methods and the political silos of academics that inhabit them.

Whilst this research reinforces and reflects traditional academic formula and research values by providing a written response to a research question, it additionally employs a visual methodology, explanation and analysis of an essentially 'lexical' social science topic which makes, with its subject matter a unique contribution to knowledge.

- Concluding Remarks

The use of visual techniques to explore and explain research and data management procedures have been successfully used for many years. Such forms of communication additionally provide an opportunity to appeal to diverse audiences and highlight areas of research not traditionally explored.

The next chapter describes the more formal development of research methods for this research into community policing processes.

Chapter 7

Research Methodology

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?

7.1 Aims of the Research

The aim of this research is to consider modern community policing responses by researching the management, administration and development of the role of the PCSO.

In order to gain an understanding of both public and police perceptions of *community based* policing events, the research question attempted to identify and explore the expectations and perceptions of community policing of three groups of subjects;

- a) Members of the public.
- b) Police managers of front line police staff.
- c) Front line police and community support officers.

The research question was thus tailored to these principals and reads as follows:

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?

In simple terms this question is associated with the function of policing the community and is directed to the respondent groups as follows:

- How effective are the police in meeting the expectations that the public have of community policing?
- In meeting this requirement, how do police managers actually know if their officers are meeting these expectations?

The principle drivers behind the above questions, and indeed the research, relates to the structures in society that bind communities together to preserve peace and order, and subsequently consider whether the processes involved are understood and are fit for purpose.

7.2 Reasons for focus

As this thesis has formerly explored, policing in recent history has seen a shift from the more discretionary approach (employed traditionally) to a more fixed, procedure-led, process. This has been driven by changes in legislation, and, since the early 1970s, the introduction and adoption of politically motivated performance targets; based on the principles of the New Public Management, (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2000). These ideas have been sustained by theories of community engagement such as Social Capital, Communitarianism and, more recently, the BIG Society. Reading undertaken as part of the literature review, in

particular historical evidence of community /police engagement processes, indicated that the use of discretion, particularly in the Peelist tradition of the '*police are the public - the public are the police*', was of paramount importance, as, if used appropriately, it was suggested that discretion would reinforce such bonds (Ignatieff 2004). As discussed in Chapter 5, the application of discretion automatically implies that an individual might apply a *discrete* response to a situation or set of circumstances suggesting that different situations might require or elicit different responses. This aspect links to theories of utility and the '*noble cause*'; used in this context as a *positive policing attribute*, as defined by Black (1980) and Pollack (2004) who focus on good actions leading to positive responses; rather than the more negative view of noble cause which infers bias and corrupt practices in order to achieve ends as highlighted by Sunahara (2004) and Barker et al (1994).

The research method was consequently motivated by three, more general issues. The study started from the premise that policing was a complex task, and, as a consequence, the deployment and management of officers of all ranks and their subsequent behaviours whilst on duty would not fit readily into the fairly prescriptive processes expected by both the community and politicians. Such *process driven* policing strategies were reinforced by the introduction of the *Policing Pledge* by the Labour government in 2008, and although subsequently removed by the coalition government in 2010, have charted and continued to influence a series of expected outcomes of events and behaviours. This has more

fundamentally been sustained by the development of police training processes that are directly associated with the meeting of a list of competencies generated by Skills for Justice and the National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA).

The author additionally aimed to explore whether such processes, when associated with community policing and its management, were wholly relevant to our understanding of the structure, definition and responsibility of policing in the twenty first century; and finally test the suggestion that the working and management practices involved in policing were complex by utilising technical structures and instruments proposed by the idea of Chaos or Complexity theory in order to better appreciate them.

In a former, unpublished, piece of police centric research undertaken by Crisp and Cowling (2007), it was suggested that the role and duties of the PCSO; even though they were defined essentially by the Police Reform Act 2002, were still left to the interpretation of the actors involved in any given scenario. This mismatch was more formally identified by the NPIA in 2008 who stated; *'that this local flexibility has resulted in PCSOs performing certain roles which are not closely aligned to those set out in the guidance'* (NPIA 2008, p. 8). As a result, the expectations of PCSOs duties ranged from high visibility policing to covert operations in plain clothes. In what should have been a clearly defined role outlined by law and with specific duties chosen by the local Chief Constable there was still significant confusion.

The role of the PCSO as the most recent, and potentially most transparent; in relation to duties and responsibilities, member of the wider police family thus provided, in relation to this research, the key to discovering how complex systems might interact to alter duty and public perception of the police response to incidents. The perception of police officers of all ranks as to whether a role was police or PCSO specific or whether a partnership approach might be permitted would also indicate a *slippage* of a defined remit. Whilst the main focus of the research looked generally at complex systems, incidents and responses related to policing; the *incidental actor* in these scenarios could be identified as the PCSO.

In order to study such complexities an approach based on the principles of epistemological pluralism was felt to be appropriate.

7.3 The Nature of Epistemological Pluralism

In an explanation of the term, Miller et al (2008) state that in spite of the need for interdisciplinary research, at a time of societal and scientific turbulence, such efforts are hampered by *purest or fundamental* research values within the various disciplines. These have tended to impact upon the perceptions of researchers about correct or worthy process and subsequently generated questions over the validity of results which have been obtained by non-standard procedures. Rather than adding value to the expanding knowledge base, Miller et al (2008) cite evidence from CoFIR et al (2005) and Rescher (2003), which suggests that academic or epistemological silos diminish the whole rather than

adding to it in relation to our knowledge and understanding of the world. MacMynski (2007) notes that basic assumptions about research and knowledge within the various disciplines, shape the validity and legitimacy of methods of research, suggesting that academic privilege can limit perspectives and the potential contribution that the work might make to knowledge overall. Such processes are reinforced within the education and career pathway of the academic researcher, as each works towards the rules set historically by the specialism to which they have become affiliated, and uses the language and procedures acceptable to those individuals, who, over time have made the rules. Miller et al (2008) criticise the limitations of the basic concessions of research towards multidisciplinary, trans disciplinary and inter disciplinary collaborations to resolve '*wicked problems*' which, according to Rittel and Webber (1973, p.155) are; '*those complex problems for which there appears to be no simple method of solution and which may have not formerly been encountered in the way presented*'.

Traditional epistemological procedure, even within a collaborative process, provides a sense of security for the researchers involved which makes them reluctant to release their affinity. As such, projects tend to additionally be associated with uncertainty. Thompson Klein (1996) highlights the lack of reflexivity in relation to the problem at hand, particularly when the focus is perceived to be on the production of hard knowledge, rather than a true appreciation of uncertainty. Epistemological pluralism essentially provides for more than one method of the means of understanding; whilst accepting that

various insights provide for the greater appreciation of the complexity of the situation. This additionally prepares the researcher for any changes related to the problem under review. A researcher who fails to accept that there is more than one way of knowing, sacrifices the potential for understanding. This research has its roots firmly in the development of knowledge based on these principles and is thus motivated by a multi-disciplinary complexity-based epistemology, in order to avoid the possible pitfalls and attractions offered by reductionism.

7.4 *Developing the Theoretical Framework*

'A mixed methods way of thinking is an orientation toward social inquiry that actively invites us to participate in dialogue about multiple ways of making sense of the social world, and multiple standpoints on what is important and to be valued and cherished'.

(Green 2008, p20)

When considering research, particularly in subject areas where an approach which adopts the ethos of epistemological pluralism is favoured, because of the complexity of the subject content, it appears logical to utilise the most relevant methods for the procedures involved. When designing the most appropriate methodology to review the work of the police and wider police family, there are a number of theoretical foundations upon which research has traditionally been based. Glaser and Strauss (1967) advocate the opportunities provided by grounded theory, as its pragmatic approach to real problems and their

resolution provides researchers with the opportunity to engage in a process linked to practical problem solving which has true relevance to society. It also links to what Bottoms (2000) notes as research which is active and focussed on society, but which is based on careful observation and an emphasis on meaning of social action to actors. Even in research with its foundations in grounded theory, there have been debates over the role and responsibility of the researcher which range from a constructivist (Charmaz 2000:2006) to a postmodern focus (Clarke 2005; Corbin and Strauss 2008). This debate has promoted and demoted the advantages of an open minded approach to a research problem; but noted the danger of grounding and embedding a theory so deeply within research that an opposing interpretation is impossible to reconcile.

Theoretical paradigms which support more active methods of researcher engagement such as action research, were not practical for this research, as an external agent to the police service there were no opportunities available to directly engage with process, neither were purely observational activities. Realist research was also not possible, in spite of a number of convincing arguments proposed by Sobh and Perry (2005), in advocating the opportunities provided by such methods.

Whilst realist research might result in a 'family of answers' more appropriately reflecting different contexts and participants, there still remained a concern. As Sobh and Perry highlight; akin to the core of research is an acknowledgement of the three elements of a research paradigm in which research

is undertaken. Guba and Lincoln (1994) identify these as methodology, ontology and epistemology. In relation to ontology and epistemology, the reality of the research area and the researcher's association with that reality, there was a problem. As the author has had an association with the police service for a number of years she continues to hold a number of preconceived ideas and prejudices which might easily cloud the manner in which research might be undertaken and any results which may be extrapolated (Major and Savin-Baden 2010, p.79-84). As a former serving police officer, the wife of a retired police royalty protection police officer and mother of two front line police officers and, someone who has researched and taught police officers and members of the wider police family for several years, the author is also mindful of Malterud's (2001, pp.483-4) note of the importance of reflexivity in research as he suggests: *'A researchers' background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate and the framing and communication of conclusions'*.

Whilst paradigms of positivist, constructivist, critical theory and realist perspectives might direct the authors engagement with the research it appeared to be more appropriate to focus on the research from a theoretical structure that would provide a model onto which the contradictions inherent within policing might be spilt.

The review of the breadth of diverse academic and historical literature relating to various dimensions of policing the community, led the author to quickly realise that research could not be principally undertaken as being grounded in one specific area. The understanding of events associated with the evolution of policing our communities from a historical perspective, had already made a significant impact on the choice of theoretical and practical processes involved. Whilst changes in society were reflected in the development of justice and legal processes, the use of language and semiotics also appeared to be pertinent. An appreciation of the social sciences and theories of community interaction were also relevant, as were theories relating to media, politics, management and physical science, geography and anthropology. This all appeared to be significant and consequently difficult to relevantly categorise into suitable themes and usable chunks. Each snapshot of policing is considered legitimate and reflective of the critical eye of the researcher, but working within generally static positivist methods has seldom considered more than one facet of insight. As such, research into policing remains at best a one dimensional representation of the researcher's or political interest at that moment in time.

The quantity of research associated with burglary for example, has in more recent times been in decline in contrast to its peak in the 1980s, when much of this type of research was sponsored by government, in order to resolve practice based concerns about crime levels. This suggests, that even studies over time have a tendency to become de-contextualised by other potentially relevant issues

such as, in the case of burglary research, a reduction in the level of recorded crime generally, but, more specifically, for the purposes of research sponsorship - burglary itself.

The mixed methods approach has been subject of much debate, (Evans et al, 2011; Greene, 2008; Happ, 2009; Johnson et al, 2007; Teddlie and Tashakkori 2003), but presents a researcher with an opportunity to mix practical research methods to enable the most relevant fit, in order to generate the most pragmatic but meaningful data. Researchers have consequently found the adoption of both qualitative and quantitative methods linked in their studies, by reference to triangulation processes to be helpful in a number of practice disciplines. Westmarland (2011), citing Walklake (2001), argues that particularly in relation to research which involves crime and justice, a mixed method framework provides a greater sense of contextualisation and an appreciation of the various cultures involved and links hard research methods to more naturalistic methods of gathering data. In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, there is no recipe for the specific organisation of research which employs a mixed methods frame of reference. Evans et al (2011) found that in a study which focussed on *Momento Crucial* (crucial moments in caregiving) that it was helpful to adopt a theoretical frame work, which, whilst it involved a mixed methods approach, focussed on the sociological construct of the life course perspective. As a result, additional constructs, which were primarily, associated with this framework, found their way into the research and combined to help motivate and organise the research

structure supporting, in this example, the aims of the study and integrating approaches through the analytic and interpretive phases of the inquiry. The life course perspective furthermore facilitated the development of the research questions; because the theory was directly associated with factors such as caregiving and concepts of strain and burden, sampling and data collection.

There is a suggestion that there is a need for creative methods across disciplines when using mixed methods as a research tool, but that this may require a more formal theoretical formula in order to operationalize the complexities of research (Forthofer, 2003). Evans et al (2011) highlight the usefulness of a theoretical framework which will not only provide credibility and the potential for transfer to alternative settings, but additionally provide a map for the study.

'Theoretical frameworks can provide navigational devices through the "low, swampy ground" of practice disciplines in studies concerning complex human behaviours that invite multiple, relevant, complementary perspectives and methods of investigation that take into account the importance of causal mechanisms'.

(Evans et al 2011, p. 289)

In spite of such benefits, Sandelowski (1993: 2000), warns of the dangers inherent with the adoption of a framework which is found to have a poor fit with the research matter, warning that researchers should stay grounded in the data in case the framework proves incompatible with the content. It was thus necessary to focus on a theoretical model of research which would support axioms or models of reality prior to the development of the research hypothesis, reduce or

accommodate areas of potential bias and which would reflect the concerns, that as policing represented a complex system, it should be studied as such.

Atkinson (2005, p.48) reflects that, *'contemporary complexity theory provides a powerful set of analytic metaphors for comprehending the emergent properties of social phenomena and their diverse levels of order and meaning. It recalls classic interactionist and interpretative ideas of social emergence and the processes of social life'*.

Whilst a number of the tools used in this research have been developed from principles found within complexity theory the author has been mindful of Sandelowski's (1993:2000) concerns. This has meant that as this research has developed there has not been an attempt to force a theoretical fit, if one has not been obvious. Theory and empirical work have thus been woven together to help to explain the current situation.

7.5 The Application of Complex Adaptive Theory (Complexity) to this Research

The motivation for and examination of 'Complexity' and its application to this study has been considered in a Chapter 5 in more detail. The principles that have been more specifically utilised in the development of the research method and interpretation are those essentially highlighted as important by a number of theorists in both the social and physical sciences; (Blackman 2006, Burns 2007, Cilliers 1998, Kiel and Elliot 1996 and Lemon 1999), but more specifically by Byrne

(1988) and Haynes (2008) who highlight the importance of an understanding of interrelationships to an appreciation of the research focus.

An alternative approach of viewing complexity is provided by *Graph Theory*, which is more commonly associated with mathematics (Euler 1736; Assad 2007; Mallion 2007). This approach also provides an appreciation of networks and complex systems and is mathematically defined as a simple/directed network by Gutman and Polanski (1987). Whilst the succinct notation and subsequent mapping of complexity in this way provides an alternative method of analysing and applying data to the appreciation of complex systems, it was not practical for the author, as a non-mathematician, to apply its principles to this research. Whilst processes from this method of understanding complex systems have been considered, and are thus influential within this research, the analytical method and product of this mathematical approach have not been utilised.

Byrne and Ragin (2009) note that Qualitative Comparative Analysis or (QCA) tools can be used broadly, with some success, across a wide spectrum of sample types; they furthermore describe a methodological process where a large data set might be distilled into a process where the results of mixed method collection can be categorised in a number of ways. These will ultimately be used to construct a truth table which both represent a number of different configurations and indicate the absence or presence of attributes relevant to the outcome.

Though a personal aspiration might be to more fully appreciate the application of alternative methodologies, the author's ability and strength as a researcher were realised to be located within visual methodological approaches, and as a result, the choice was made to utilise such methods within this research.

There is a suggestion that in dealing with social systems, complexity theory has provided application for at least five broad themes from which research has been derived. Bausch (2001) identifies areas such as; the design of social systems, the structure of the social world, communication, cognition and epistemology whilst Manuel-Navarrete (2008) identifies three adaptations of complexity in: *Supplementing the Modernist Program Approach; the Metaphorical-Analytical Approach; and the Post-normal Science Approach*.

Prior to the design of the research methods it was important to become aware of the technical language and the associated meanings used to explain the principles of complexity, and ascertain whether the adoption of a research method that began with the idea of complexity and was consequently applied to a research hypotheses, would be appropriate in the context of policing. Haynes (2003) provides us with a number of examples of the successful application of complexity research structures which have been applied to the public services and in doing so encourages a wider vision of the adaptation of these theoretical instruments to society. Byrne (1998) affords the researcher interested in the methodological application of complex research methods a description of the result of their application, when associated with qualitative research methods.

Champions of realist research Pawson and Tilley (1997) and Byrne and Ragin (2009) highlight the relevance of context to the outcomes of research, but warn against an overly mechanistic approach in which context is associated with cause, without appropriate consideration about the level and degree to which this relationship has an impact. They cite Burns (2007, p.1) who states: *'Systematic action research opens up the possibility of strategy development that can meaningfully engage with the complexities of the real world. In this respect it is a challenge to the rolling out of best practice to strategic planning and to the models of linear causation that dominate our organisational and political landscape. These consistently fail because they are based on an assumption that intervention outcomes are relatively straightforward to predict if only we can get the right sort of evidence.'*

Cilliers (1998) suggests that ethically, investigations into complex systems should only be undertaken by individuals who are already embedded within the systems under review as they are able to apply meaning from a practice base to enable theory to be fully appreciated; whilst Byrne (1998, p.173) highlights the use of isomorphic process to identify and understand complex systems. These concepts are highly influential and have been chosen as a fundamental analysis tool for this research. By plotting and reviewing the responses to a series of scenario based questionnaires through the lens of complexity and applying an understanding of complex components to make sense of the responses, patterns may be physically observed. Bifurcations which, in this research can be identified by

alternate responses to the questions asked will be specifically identified, as complexity implies that small differences in response at the point of bifurcation or change will determine the path the system will follow. Any clusters or similarities which emerge will be highlighted as an instrument for noting attractors and consequently permit further classification and greater understanding of the system dynamics (Peak and Frame 1994).

Strange attractors will be identified and utilised as part of the mapping process. The torus, represents the dimensional layers of influence, and is identified generally in the literature, as a model of a self-regulating and bounding system with the potential for more than one limiting structure (Mandlebrot 1977; Lorenz 1963; Chen 1999).

7.6 The application of complexity focussed structures to analyse existing work

To guide and develop a confident approach to research into the area of the management of complex systems in policing it was necessary to first test the viability of the tools and develop an understanding of their use in a series of pre-existing practical scenarios. In order to do this, a number of key reports and research papers, which were associated with aspects of policing, were plotted by means of a series of diagrammatic and tabular representations and associated with complex tools and key terms. As a result it was possible to not only identify areas where potentially disassociated risk had resulted in harm, within a generally linear process, but also more readily appreciate how the research hypothesis

might be mapped on to an analytical structure which would accommodate complexity. In doing this, the author devised a method of charting responses which was based on the physical structure of complex systems in order that she might record the impact of process and complexity in a simple way.

The principle behind this idea, again taken from the physical sciences, was that in all incidents there was a recognised central activity or incident around which everything else was attracted. This might be associated with an incident, actor or a geographical or temporal point of origin around which other *actors* or *events* might be subsequently attracted. In the physical sciences this would be identified as a 'basin of attraction'. Whilst this may be considered *initially* as having a linear point of origin in relation to time it may also be influenced by other factors which would also be plotted on a schematic of the process. These might subsequently be identified as differences or bifurcations from a set of similar data extrapolated from a more formal resource based in law or procedure - the rule or codified process. The null hypothesis would thus suggest that there would be a direct flow towards the centre of the basin of attraction from external actors (the police subjects) which would be predictable based on this codification.

7.7 The Research Questions- The Problematique?

The Problematique is a term used in French research which not only identifies the research question but also considers aspects of definition and contextualisation. According to Warfield and Perino (1999, p.221); 'A

*problematique is a graphical portrayal - a structural model - of relationships among members of a set of problems'. What this suggests is that the problematique is, in part, a means of reducing a complex problem in order to better explore and manage a larger more complex structure. Whilst commonly identified in French research process it has its philosophical roots in Aristotelian logic. Warfield (1995) highlights the difficulty that humanity faces when trying to fully understand and cope with multi-dimensional problems and reinforces the benefits of using the problematique as an illuminating device. It is thus appropriate that this section introduces this term because the actual research question is still confusing as it can hold varied meanings within a variety of contexts and may be dependent on a myriad of variables all of which may be indirect. The foundation for this obstacle is that which relates to the nature and function of the police in our society, and no matter how the question is phrased the problem appears unresolvable and generates new dimensions which might come under a universal category of *continuous critical problems around policing*.*

7.8 Responding to the issue of Continuous Critical Policing Problems

One of the difficulties of research into policing is that the questions asked and subsequent responses mean different things to people which may be subjective, sometimes irrelevant, and the result of influences beyond the researcher's control. Political bias may also impact on whether research is made

public, as in the case of the Home Office contract undertaken by Ward and Crisp (2005), for the then Labour government into the development of the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP), which, for political expediency, it was felt could not at the time be published. Similar research undertaken by Elliot and Kushner in 2003 which was originally shelved by the same government was later made available as the political landscape shifted.

Laycock and Webb (2003) highlight this as an issue for researchers in Chapter 11 of *Crime Reduction and Problem Orientated Policing* noting:

'For both of us working on this programme was a frustrating experience, and the reader may sense this in the tone of the chapter. We make only limited apology for this, and in defence refer to Christie's (1997) insightful paper on the over socialisation of criminologists'. (Laycock and Webb 2003, pg.285)

The problem of policing does not just cause disquiet for the purpose of this thesis, as, in 2005 Sir Ian Blair (former Commissioner of the Metropolitan police), in a BBC Dimpleby Lecture noted that; *'There is little dispassionate, thought-through, public examination of just what it is we are here to do in the 21st century - to fight crime or to fight its causes, to help build stronger communities or to undertake zero tolerance, nor of how these things should be done or what priority each should have or what we should stop doing'.*

If we consider Blair's statements above in relation to the research question; *Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?* We begin to see again how much

of a wicked problem an understanding of this issue might become. If one of the most experienced, politically savvy, former senior police officers in the country cannot fully define the role of the police, then one might argue that clarification might be near to impossible.

In order to develop any research into policing the researcher had to initially accept that any question and subsequent responses would always fall into the category of *continuous critical problems around policing*, as society, crime and what we understand as a policing activity is not static. This acknowledges that whilst the research question would only at best elicit an incomplete fuzzy response, the process involved would result in the illumination of one aspect of the function of policing associated with the complexities involved in its comprehension.

It is not due to an oversight that in constructing this research question the researcher deliberately steers clear of what might be framed as the loftier, but perhaps more fundamental question associated with the role of community policing, which is:

What actually do the public want?

7.9: Problems with Public Perceptions of Policing

This question is part of the problem, in that governments of various political hues and researchers from numerous fields have focussed an inordinate amount of resources over time to gain an understanding of this knotty conundrum.

A more general response to the questions asked being that- *it depends.....*

An example of this type of response can be observed in a more recent attempt by Hill (2010), to find out what the public wanted by posing the following question to a sample of the population of Halton in the North West of England; *"Do the public want more or fewer police community support officers?"*

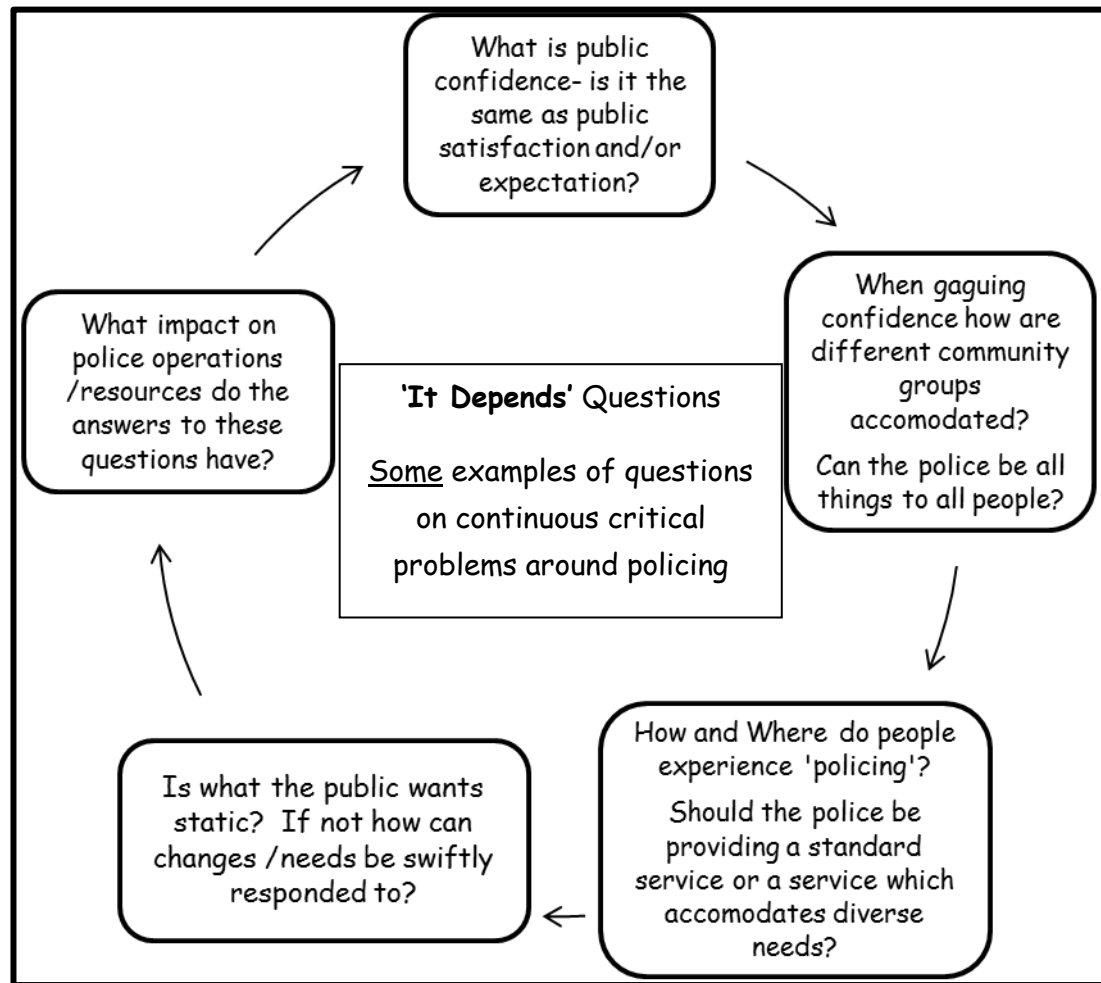
Hill notes that in their response, and despite that fact that residents did not know their local PCSO, few actually appreciating the impact of the role, and their doubts that crime was as significant, as highlighted by the British Crime Survey (2007-2008), they stated that they would still welcome a greater number of PCSOs. These results suggest, that whilst Hill's sample of Halton residents did not feel that crime was a significant issue locally; they were nevertheless happy to have more PCSOs to work in the neighbourhood, to combat whatever levels of crime there might have been. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, (HMIC), have the task of ensuring that the public get what they want in relation to the police service. The Chief Inspector Sir Dennis O'Connor stated in 2010; *'We have adopted an 'outside-in' approach, as opposed to the 'inside-out' of the past. By 'outside-in', I mean putting the public centre stage. We start with their questions, their understanding, and their concerns ... we are anchoring our work to public need'*

This tactic may be problematic if we consider the result of Hill's research, and the suggestion that actually the public may not be well informed about the nature of crime, or subsequent police responses.

For the purposes of research methodology into the area of community policing, it was necessary to make certain assumptions about the level of understanding of policing by the public sample. The expectation being that essentially they would have an awareness of what policing involved, albeit at a basic level and that the new role of the PCSO as part of the wider police family would be acknowledged, if not understood. It was recognised that, in spite of wide media and government news coverage, this role might still not be fully understood by the public sample. This leads to the philosophical debates about metacognition, how we know what we know and consequently how much of that knowledge is based on our perceptions of direct experience or our secondary environmentally-based learning (Grimaldi et al 2015). As far as key themes in police research are concerned this underlines an important debate about the dynamic interplay between public confidence and the reduction in service expressed by police, politician and researchers alike (Fleming and Graboski 2009). If the public have not needed to access police services they may not feel that additional resources are necessary, alternatively however they may just believe as Hills' (ibid) research subjects did, that services still need to be available.

In fact, the questions around what the community wants, find purchase in a number of sub-components, all of which might be called '*it depends*' questions.

Figure 7.1: Questions on the continuous critical problems around policing



In his discussion about definition and problems of method, Claude Levi Strauss (1968) noted the linkage between the structure, which exhibits the characteristics of a system, and the associated elements, 'none of which' he states, *'can undergo a change without effecting changes in all the other elements'*.

7.10 Understanding the role of the Police

Policing as a role within society appears to be one of the most clearly prescribed and potentially misrepresented. Even in a society awash with diverse cultures and community differences, most people when asked, would be able to explain the duties of a British Police Officer.

In general terms, their initial response may well provide some comment within it about upholding the law and protecting the public. If asked to provide additional information about policing, their ability to enhance this basic awareness will be informed by experience or influence. This knowledge may be derived from sources within the media or relate to personal experience, or that of family members or peers, but the expectation of the police role (even if they have negative experiences of the position) will inevitably settle at a baseline which emphasises the law and public protection, their consideration based upon a process of epistemological pluralism. The role of the Police Officer is, in this respect, similar to the role of a Fire Officer or a Nurse, a Doctor or a Teacher or a Refuse Collector, in that category labels are applied, which will then be orientated to a general and then more specific term of reference by the communicator and listener, the role categorised by the signifier as the signified. But whilst those other categories may be guided by societal responsibility and duty, the role of the police officer is related to that of a servant employed to service, not individuals, but community and society as a whole, under the terms of the social contract.

Unlike the roles of nurse or teacher there is an expectation that a police officer will always be on duty.

This concept is underlined by paragraphs 1.70-1.76 of the Home Office Guidance on Police Officer Misconduct, Unsatisfactory Performance and Attendance Management Procedures as paragraphs 1.71 and 1.72 note that:

1.71 Even when off duty, police officers do not behave in a manner that discredits the police service or undermines public confidence.

1.72 In determining whether a police officer's off-duty conduct discredits the police service, the test is not whether the police officer discredits herself or himself but the police service as a whole.

As discussed in Chapter 2, to be a constable means that an officer has sworn allegiance to the Crown not the politician or the proletariat although the philosophical debate initially set in motion by Hobbes' Leviathan (1651) has consequently evolved into a set of expectations of the public and the state, with the role of the Police, acting as a hinge between the tensions caused by the needs of the two. As a consequence, Police Officers in the 21st century work within clearly defined rules, or legal process recorded by law, and public consensus provided by policy. To quote the Peelist tradition of '*the police are the public and the public are the police*', does not do justice to the complex duties required in policing, as it is not enough that police officers are made from the same *clay* as the common person. To be a police officer is to be uncommon, to be separate, and

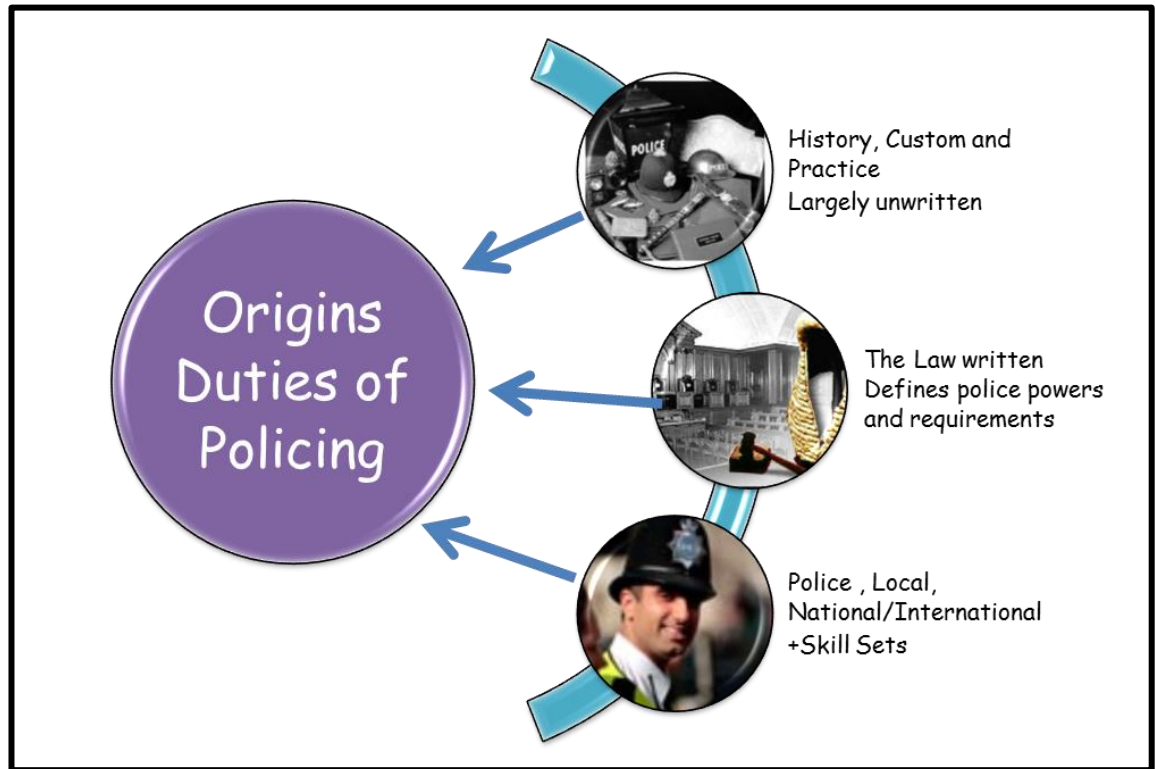
to be apart from the community in order to be able to undertake the role without fear or favour and meet the expectations outlined in their oath to the Crown on appointment to post¹¹³.

It is reassuring in this context to consider the statement made, again, by Levi Strauss (ibid) , that *"the scholar is not he who gives the right answers, but he who asks the right questions,"* even if the answer is- it depends...

Essentially society has a codified appreciation of the role of the police. The role is defined by, amongst other sources, constitutional, criminal and civil law which more recently includes legislation such as the Police Reform Act 2002, from which the oath of allegiance is taken. It is at this point that it would be easy to slip back into the cycle of questions which focus on confidence and performance as indicators of public expectations of policing. A more realistic mode of questioning and the basis of this research is that which considers whether police responses to those codified duties of policing meet the expectations of the public. The general premise being that if a response is codified it becomes more predictable, as its outcome is also prescribed by the code. Figure 7.2 highlights some of the codes upon which the police role is based.

¹¹³ See the most recent versions of the Oath of Allegiance in Appendix 6

Figure 7.2: Sources of codification within policing



As a consequence of this, the outcome/ expectation paradigm is that which is embedded within the training of officers and is highlighted by the adoption of national occupational standards (NOS) developed by the sector skills council Skills for Justice. These skills sets have more recently been enhanced by the development of a *Policing Professional Framework* formerly known as the *Police Integrated Competency Framework*.

As an example of how this process works, National Occupational Standard unit: **2C1 Provide an initial police response to incidents**¹¹⁴, was originally developed in 2003 and outlines an expectation of a police response to incidents.

This prescribed response is not rank/role specific and comprises two elements: **2C1.1: Gather information and plan a response** and **2C1.2: Respond to incidents** which, it states, covers incidents such as; *'domestic violence, road traffic incidents, critical incidents, public order, allegations of crime, non-crime incidents, racist incidents and other hate crime'*.

Element 2C1.1 furthermore, highlights individual competencies and the knowledge necessary to meet legal and organisational requirements.

Based upon these principles it seems reasonable to state that not only will members of the public have an expectation of police actions, based upon their understanding of the police role, but there will be a clearly defined series of police responses, not only associated with the law but also linked to occupational standards, which it would be reasonable to expect officers to perform.

¹¹⁴ An edited version of this guide by Skills for Justice, which was approved in 2008 is to be found in Appendix 9 (a)

7.11 The Research Question

Based on this understanding, hypothetically, it should be possible to predict the actions of police personnel as a result of the influence caused by the dynamics of codification or competency requirements. The hypothesis being, that because of the complex nature of policing, it *would not be possible* to make predictions of the police responses to incidents, or, that those responses would necessarily meet the expectations of the public.

In asking questions around the expectations and perceptions of community policing the author argues that the structures, currently in place, do not fulfil their intended role, as they do not account for the complex nature of the task or the multifaceted needs and expectations of the policing role by society.

7.12 Developing the Method

Prior to the development of the formal methodology for this work a number of meetings were held between senior managers within Leicestershire Constabulary, the researcher and her supervisor. This was both to gauge the potential support, including the permission for research of this kind, but also to identify the potential application of any results generated.

At the time of the commencement of this research, the government strategy for community policing, post the introduction of the role of the PCSO in 2002, emphasised the need to focus on quality of life issues. This was reinforced by Government policy embedded in Green Papers such as: *'From the neighbourhood to the national; policing our communities together'* (2008) and legislation which drew together activities which focused on resolving community concerns over anti-social behaviour (The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003). The subsequent response to the green paper *'Engaging Communities in Fighting Crime'*, more commonly known as the Casey Review (2008) highlighted ten facts which communities felt were close to their needs in relation to crime and justice.

Out of these concerns five were specifically related to policing:

- *55% of the public say crime is the most important issue facing Britain today.*
- *73% of the public say that hearing about someone being a victim of crime in their local area affects their feelings of safety and makes them cautious, angry and sad.*
- *91% of the public think the basic approaches and standards of service delivered by the police should be the same wherever they live.*
- *90% of respondents to the review think the public are not told enough about what happens to those who have committed crime.*
- *75% of the public are prepared to play an active role in tackling crime.*

(Casey 2008 page 9 summary)

Senior Managers within the police service were thus keen to support research which would evidence their ability to meet the requirements of government, identified by these and other government initiatives, including the Flanagan Review, which had originally set the seed of change in 2007. There was consequently some encouragement from the managers concerned, in these initial meetings, to focus on areas which might show the effective practice of officers, not only in meeting community needs, but also undertaking their role in an engaging and efficient manner. Whilst these factors may have influenced aspects of the research focus, they did not motivate the construction of either the research hypothesis or general methods used.

From the general aims and subsequent research question, it was decided to devise a method of data collection which would focus on qualitative methods, within a series of structured scenario based questions, undertaken in a face to face interview setting. The questions, and their target audience, were subsequently refined in the course of developing the research design.

In making the choice to use scenario based questions, the researcher considered the numerous voices of scholars who historically advocated the more simplistic approach of using a question /answer processes based on the use of closed questions or rating scales (Converse 1987; Smith 1987; Geer1988; Schuman et al 1986; Krosnick & Berent 1993; Klockars & Yamagishi 1988; Krosnick et al 1990).

Scenario based questions were chosen, as they build upon the training methodologies and pedagogic practice, used as part of the initial police training process. They also have an advantage, in that they can be tailored to fit human experience or understanding, enabling responses to be compared from a number of different perspectives (Alexander and Becker 1978). They have additionally been successfully used in a number of settings to elicit responses from subjects, who may not have necessarily experienced an action, but may have opinion about what their responses under certain circumstances might be. Largely because of this, they are used successfully in computer design (Potts 1995).

Jehn and Jonsen (2010) highlight the positive application of *scenarios* or *vignettes* in mixed method research, particularly where there may be an element of sensitivity about working practice. Montibeller et al (2007) note, that the use of scenario based planning, in relation to multi-criteria decision analysis has a combined position in organisations, in that it can facilitate strategic decision making and support performance evaluation of such strategies when considering relevant proposals for the resolution of future potential or hypothetical problems.

Scenarios have a number of key elements associated with them. They include, or suggest, a setting or location and agents or actors motivated by goals or objectives who will be involved in certain actions or activities and are subsequently defined by a structure or plot (Carroll 2000). Research undertaken by Wells et al (1987) suggests that scenario based research questions have the potential of producing counterfactual thinking, thus providing for the mental stimulation of the

subject in order to generate new outcomes, which appeared to closely aligned to the nature of the research, in, that whilst the null hypothesis focussed on predictable responses, the nature of the questions provided subjects with opportunities to elaborate and indicate difference where required.

7.13 *Choices of Scenario*

The choices of policing scenario, (seven in total) for the purposes of research, ranged from minor incidents which might be dealt with by either a PCSO or a police constable, to more serious incidents which should be dealt with by police officers, or incidents which might elicit a partnership approach both within the police service and external to policing. All of the scenarios chosen may be defined as an incident for the purpose of NOS 2C1: *Provide an initial police response to incidents*, and were designed to stimulate reflection on content, role, responsibility and the potential for discretion. However, in order to better reflect the core tasks of the PCSO, as outlined within government reform, some scenarios were selected which would be categorised by the term '*anti-social behaviour*'. There was, in addition, a scenario which was based on events that were not of concern to the police.

The vignettes were focused on the following issues:

Domestic Violence, Common Assault, Robbery, Burglary, Neighbour Disputes (linked to anti-social behaviour), *Youths Drinking/Congregation* in public spaces

(linked to anti-social behaviour) and finally a police *non-action* report of an individual becoming *Locked Out* of their home.

7.14 Evidencing the generalizability of scenarios for this research

According to Home Office Figures, in a comparator of crimes *reported* nationally, Leicestershire Constabulary was ranked below average, when this research commenced. The choice of subject matter/content for the scenarios overall were nevertheless offences which are indicative of crime generally, and would thus be identified as those having generalizable content which might be repeatable if undertaken in other police districts. This is strongly associated with Lincoln and Gubas (1985) indicators of quality in research, in that the research findings within this paper, may potentially be transferable thus indicating a basic level of external validity.

Locally, data retrieved from 'UK Crime Stats' (2012-2013) suggests that in Leicestershire overall, the crimes chosen represent those which come under the umbrella term of *low level crime*. Whilst this might not necessarily be associated with quantity (when associated with crimes associated with Anti-Social Behaviour) it is more generally noted in relation to importance (Robbery).

One of the fundamental aspects of the research in comparing officers' actions to the NOS, concerned whether initially officers would actually respond to

the scenarios in the way the NOS suggested and, if they did, what their perceived actions would be as a consequence. The following table reflects the scenario categories used for the research and those individuals /organisations who might be expected to deal with them - if at all.

Figure 7:3: Scenarios used in the research and their associations with the subjects response

Who can deal	Police to Deal	Police Constable and a PCSO if available	Multi Agency Partners with PCSO or a Police Constable	Not a Police Matter
Type of Incident	<u>Actual</u> Robbery	General Anti-Social Behaviour Youths Drinking	General Anti-Social Behaviour Neighbours Noise Environmental hazards	Locked out of house
	<i>Potential</i> Domestic Assault	<i>Potential</i> Burglary		
	<u>Actual</u> Assault			

In order to identify areas where complexity might have an impact, all scenarios chosen were associated with elements of the law or regulatory procedure which might usually guide officers to work in a specific way. This aspect of procedure/ legislation acted as a core pathway of expected activities or

prescribed events and would have been taught to all police personnel as a component part of their training, and would again be highlighted by NOS 2C1.

Such prescribed responses were verified with an experienced police trainer to ensure that expected behaviours in such scenarios were covered by policy or legislation, and had been a component of training for police personnel for some time prior to the development of the NOS. The null hypothesis being, as formerly noted that as the areas were generally prescribed, all front line officers questioned about their response to any given scenario would be seen to respond in the same way.

The three conditions tested and compared within the research were those linked to the responses to the scenarios by:

- 1) Front Line Officers namely PCSOs, Police Constables and Police Sergeants.
- 2) The perceptions of the actions of Front Line Officers by Police Managers, namely police supervisors of the rank of Inspector and above and, finally,
- 3) The expectations held by Members of the Public about the police response towards them within the potentially real scenarios.

7.15 Designing the Field Work

The following discussion aims to present some of the considerations involved in the adoption of a design for this field work and note the experiences associated with this process.

7.15a) Pretesting process

There has been some debate over the different approaches used by the researcher in deciding upon question format and the nature of interviewing style. Fowler and Mangione (1990) for example, emphasise the need to ensure a standard format of interviewing which will minimise the risk of responses being contaminated by the researchers interviewing style. This is in contrast to the idea that the static style of interviewing might compromise the quality of data extracted, rather than acting to enhance it (Briggs 1986, Mishler 1986, Suchman & Jordan 1990,1992).

To identify the most effective method of delivering questions to any subject group involved in this research it was initially decided to run a pilot test of the research which used two conditions of delivery. The first involved face to face interviews of a small sample of members of the public. The second provided for a variable in which there was no researcher present but subjects completed the form themselves. The subjects were consequently asked if they had any feedback on either the mode of delivery or questions asked.

One of the six subjects used in the pilot (3x interview; 3x non interview) felt that the mode of delivery in the non-interview condition might have been more useful if it had been delivered in a face to face method as she felt that whilst she understood the questions asked, she would have liked to clarify her responses with someone. As a result of this comment it was decided to focus specifically on face to face interviews, rather than use potentially a more time/cost effective administration of sending out questionnaires. Whilst this method may have provided a greater quantity of respondents, it was felt that the quality of data may have been compromised. The face to face interview situation also provides respondents with opportunities to reveal feelings opinions and emotions, which, whilst not directly linked to the process provides useful contextual cues relevant to the development of an appreciation of the complex system under investigation. It thus provides for the researcher to experience more readily the subject's perception of reality, and thus results in a more credible analysis and interpretation of results (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

As Kvale (1988) notes, whilst researchers choose to interview their subjects to uncover factual information about the focus of their research this is not the whole picture (Tierney and Dilley 2002). The choice of a semi-structured interview as a format for data gathering in this research, provided an opportunity to utilise the available but limited time for interview, within the practice based environment of policing, whilst permitting interviewees to make their valuable contributions to the research in a more focussed way. Whilst the potential weaknesses of this type of research design/ interview process was considered; in that information might be reduced, it was felt that it was necessary to enable similar discussions to take place within each category of subject, thus providing a clearer delineation of information, when consequently plotting the responses within the complexity maps.

An interview protocol was thus developed which was intended to encourage suitable responses from all subjects, whilst ensuring that participants felt relaxed and engaged. The intended result of this structure was that suitable foundations would be laid for the more detailed responses required to the scenario based questions.

In a pre-scenario questionnaire, all respondents (in both the police and public samples) were asked, (after a brief explanation of the research) if they had had previous experiences with the police, PCSOs or crime generally.

They were then asked to further identify their experiences; and relate whether this had left them with a positive or a negative perception of local policing. This short discussion was followed by a description of the 'first' scenario, which was chosen randomly from a shuffled set of scenario papers by the researcher. All participants were told that the structure of the questions, and their responses to all of the scenarios would be the same, and they were reminded that they could, at any time, choose to withdraw from the interview. At the end of each scenario a number of additional questions were asked about perceived satisfaction of service. Throughout this process the researcher was mindful of Yins (2009) concerns that participants might, because of her role as interviewer, and, former academic tutor to some, be predisposed to provide the responses they felt that she wanted to hear. All participants were thus encouraged to be honest in their responses as there were no, they were assured, right or wrong answers to the questions, only their answer.

The following table provides the detail of specific question types asked of each group of subjects within the research. All scenarios were directly linked to these as a base line. Not all questions were subsequently focussed upon for the purpose of the research but were designed to elicit individual comment.

Figure 7:4: Research questions based on the scenarios

Public	Police Managers	Front Line Officers
In this situation would you contact the police?	In this situation would you expect the public to contact the police?	In this situation would you expect the public to contact the police?
In this situation what would you/the public expect the police or PCSOs to do?	In this scenario what would you expect your Police officers or PCSOs to do?	In this scenario what do you think that your managers would expect you to do?
	Why would they work in that way?	What would you actually be able to do? Why would this be the case?
How long do you think it should take for the police to initially respond?	How long do you think it might take them to respond to such an incident?	How long would it take to respond?
		What do you think that the public would expect you to do?
What actions would you want the police to undertake to provide you with the greatest sense of satisfaction /reassurance in this situation	What actions would provide the public with the greatest levels of satisfaction?	What actions would provide the public with the greatest levels of satisfaction?

Wherever possible /practicable, interviews were conducted in the same way in both the practice and non-practice based environments (subject to issues to be discussed later in this chapter). Each interview was planned to take

between 45 and 55 minutes, and, to avoid subject fatigue, the scenarios upon which the questions were based, were reduced in number and the order of delivery rotated. In the public sample the majority of the respondents, who were being interviewed in a less pressurised environment, were able to answer most or all of the scenarios within the questionnaire.

7.15c) Method of Response Analysis

In all of these scenario /questions, context is central both to the engagement and subsequent responses of the subjects. It was decided therefore to use a hybrid mapping structure devised from an understanding of the principles of complexity to identify and reproduce a diagrammatic representation of events and actions (the context), based on the perceptions of the respondents in response to individual questions. Comparisons would be subsequently made against a template which represented the ideal response and which was based on the input from an experienced police trainer and developed from the NOSs devised by Skills for Justice. Common actions undertaken as a response to the requirements of each scenario within each group, would be collated and additionally compared.

The resulting comparisons it was felt, would identify a number of factors which act to challenge the consistency of the expected policing response.

7.15d) Gaining Access to Research Subjects in the Police Service

Once permission had been granted by the Chief Constable and supported by senior officers within Leicestershire Constabulary, the researcher was advised that the civilian manager, a former senior police officer, whose role included the management of PCSOs would act as the gatekeeper for the purpose of this research and arrange the meetings for interview that would comprise the major component (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.253).

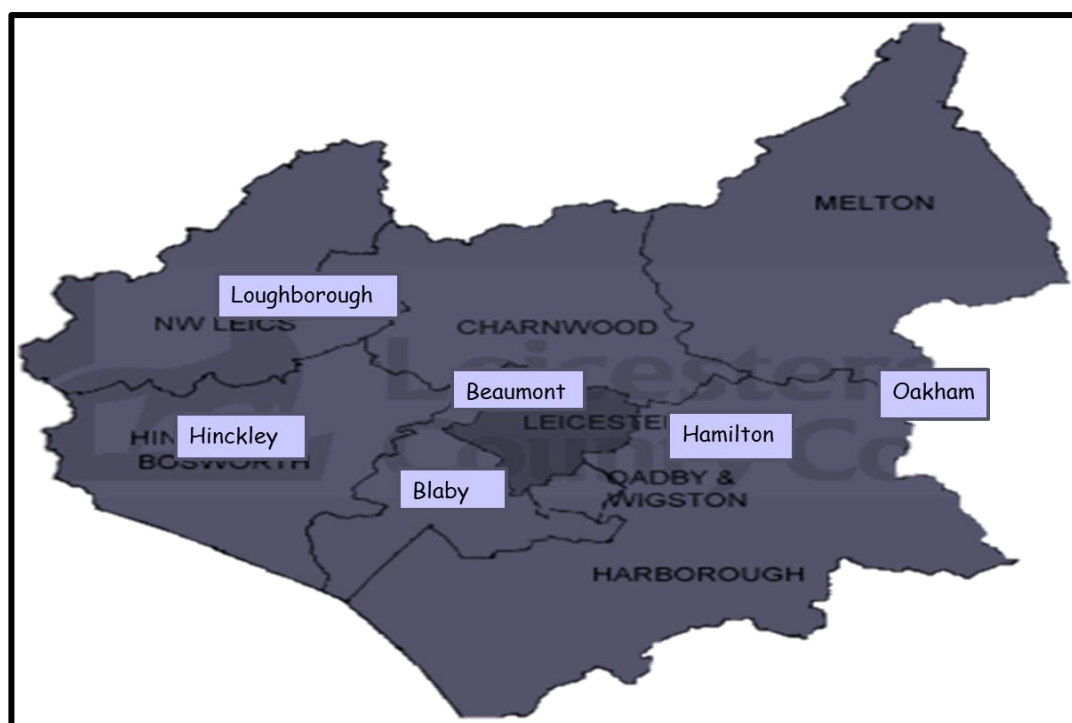
The granting of permissions initially from this gatekeeper, within Leicestershire Constabulary, was not without issue, as managers were naturally cautious about the type of research and the resulting application of results (Creswell 1998). It was therefore decided that the subjects involved in this part of the research would be selected by him, based, on their availability on the dates designated for interview purposes. Interviews were consequently arranged for officers who were established in six locations across the force area, and were planned to be undertaken on a number of dates over a 3 month period from October to December 2010.

One issue which may have led to concern over confounding variability was the fact that the email, which was originally sent to officers arranging the research visits by the civilian manager, inferred that the research was solely about the role of the PCSO. As the role of PCSOs was rumoured to be under

threat at the time of the visits, the author clarified her independent status prior to the start of each interview. Whilst this did not appear to impact on the data collection process itself, it did stimulate valuable contextual discussion (pre research) about how the organisation chose to reflect itself to the author as an independent researcher under such circumstances. This process represents factors associated with complexity which are valid within this form of research.

As the following map Figure 7:5 indicates, officers were chosen from areas situated all over the county and represented both inner city and rural locations for the purpose of crime and policing.

Figure 7:5 Map of Locations of Research Interviews within Leicestershire Constabulary



An additional problem experienced within this process, and part of the evidence of the impact of complex systems, was that on a number of occasions officers who had been identified by the interview coordinator as being available were on day off, late duty, on leave or just unavailable. This meant that the researcher was not expected at the location designated for interview by the officers who were on duty, and it meant that officers, usually of the rank of Sergeant, would have to take time to check on the legitimacy of the research and then try to arrange for officers to come in from beat duties to participate in an *unexpected interview*. It also meant that some of the intended subjects selected by the gatekeeper were not actually interviewed. The fact that operational officers supported the research process with good grace and interest, giving up valuable meal break time unexpectedly, to be interviewed, reinforces their flexibility and ability to respond to unforeseen circumstances. It also highlights an almost expected lack of operational preparedness and proactivity.

An added concern throughout this process related to the pre-interview relationships held with some of the interview subjects as the researcher had formerly been involved in their training. Subjects who fell into this category were, in the main, now detached fully from the teacher/ pupil relationship formerly held, as they had been away from the training environment for *at least* six months. As a result, it appeared in some cases, to encourage a more detailed reflection on the questions asked, and additionally generated information about alternative working practices, not directly associated with this research.

Further difficulties became manifest when interviewing the sample of senior officers who had been selected to provide the researcher with the manager response. Initially, appointments had been made by the gatekeeper at Force Headquarters for meetings with these senior ranks, subsequently however; such meetings were postponed, or not kept as a result of pressing duties. The researcher was fortunate that under such difficult circumstances, the sample of data associated with police managers for this research was consequently viable. Interviewing, and subsequently recording data, was difficult throughout this stage of research, as suitable accommodation or an alternative environment to question respondents was not always available.

A decision had been made early on in the fieldwork to *type up* responses to questions as they were being made, as there was an apparent distrust of recording devices by subjects, within the interview process (Emerson et al 2001, p.357). Initial field notes were consequently written up at the end of each interview in an appropriate format for analysis (Baker and Sabo 2004). When the necessity for physical space to, *plug in* and run a lap top, were combined with the need for a private location to undertake interviews, the lack of resources available in the police stations became problematic. On occasions this meant that it was necessary to move location within the police station mid-interview. In spite of this disturbance, the officers involved in this research were, by nature of the job resilient and particularly philosophical about such a disturbance as they identified

the change as an activity, which could be directly associated with their method of working. As a result there was no apparent effect on their response.

7.15e) Recruiting the Public Sample

There were no specific characteristics required within of the sample of subjects representing the public, as a) they might all potentially be *consumers* of policing, and b) may all have personal opinions and a unique understanding about the role of the police. This meant that their opinions about what actions they might prefer police officers to take under specific circumstances were all valid.

Several attempts were made to recruit volunteers who may have consequently constituted a less apparently selective sample for this aspect of the research. In spite of advertising in the University Faculty Newsletter and in the local neighbourhood there were unhappily no offers of assistance. As a result of this lack of interest, the public sample comprised individuals who agreed to participate in the research after an approach had been made directly to them by the researcher. It is difficult to categorise the form of sampling employed as a result, but snowball sampling appears to constitute the best methodological fit, as often associations and suggestions for potential interviewees would come about as a result of suggestions made by individuals who were already participants. Because of continued issues with the researcher's ill health the public sample interviews took longer than initially planned to collect and so it was not until 2012 that this part of the research sample was completed.

All three groups of subjects interviewed, represent a theoretical sampling structure (Glaser and Strauss 1967), for the purpose of this research.

7.15f) Analysis of Data¹¹⁵

In order to better understand the complex nature of the relationships involved within the research it was felt that the data sets themselves should initially be reviewed and compared to a more general population. The Public and Police samples were thus analysed as possible representatives of a potentially wider picture prior to a more unique comparison within group responses. Aspects of age and gender within the public sample and rank and length of service within the police groups were compared to the wider population of similar groups in Leicestershire. As part of the main focus of research was associated with knowledge, understanding and experience the researcher was mindful of reviewing more specifically data relating to these areas.

- Public Sample

Initially a series of simple calculations were undertaken to compare the 'public' sample population from this research with local population data taken from the census published by Leicestershire County Council to identify whether results

¹¹⁵ Highlights of this section are available in the accompanying CD - 'Contextual Data'

might suitably transfer as being truly representative of the population group from which they had been taken.

Aspects of gender and age of the sample group were consequently compared to the population of Leicestershire overall to note differences and associations. This is represented by Figure 10a.1 within Appendix 10(a) and is noted as reflecting the general structure of the population of Leicester.

The public sample provided a broad spectrum of ages for the purposes of this research ranging from 19 the youngest respondent, to the oldest who was 93 years old (see Figure 10a.2 in Appendix 10a).

When compared to the data sample taken from the Leicestershire Census 2011, which was combined to provide similar groupings in relation to age, the sample group as a representative of the category Age, does not appear to directly reflect similarities with the census data and thus is not directly generalizable¹¹⁶. This can be more clearly seen in Figure 10 a3 in Appendix 10a). It should be noted however that the study did not set out to focus on directly generalizable groups but to utilise data to illuminate broader issues.

The use of complex system tools and methods frees the researcher from having to force data into a specific fit and furthermore provides them with an opportunity to embrace difference, and reflect alternative suggestions of reality

¹¹⁶ Whilst this data is not generalizable the findings do provide valuable insight with a wider relevance to community policing

recognising that all data is meaningful and may be thus interpreted relevantly as making suitable contribution to an appreciation of a subject area. An alternative perhaps more dynamic interpretation of the data (Figure 10a.4 Appendix 10a), thus enables the age groupings within the 18-30 and over 50 age groups, whilst not a representative sample of the general population, to be identified as those groups in society who are at greater risk of becoming a victim of crime, and/or who may be prone to fear crime according to the England and Wales Crime Survey.

- Police Data

At the time that the data collection was being undertaken for this research Leicestershire Constabulary had 2,320 Police Officers of all ranks and 230 Police Community Support Officers (Data supplied by Leicestershire Constabulary actual figures for 31st March 2010). This indicates that the sample of the police population of all ranks used for this research represents 1.1% of the total number of police officers in Leicestershire Constabulary (Figure 10a.5 Appendix 10(a)).

An important factor in understanding the 'knowledge' of the police community to effectively manage and respond to tasks may be related to their length of service and rank within the police as this may be equated with experience and ability. The sample from which the research and subsequent analysis has been based has been identified within Figures 10a.7 and 10a.8 in Appendix 10(a) and is representative of the length of service for the officers involved in this research.

In total the service of the officers combined is **464 years** which indicates a substantial level of experience overall.

- Response to Scenario Questions: Police

Figure 10a.9 in Appendix 10(a) provides an overview of the responses by rank to each of the scenarios. As the Figure 10a.10 Appendix 10(a) indicates the responses to the scenario based questions appear to be evenly distributed over the various ranks.

- Response to Scenario Questions: Public

As the thesis has already identified it is hard to gauge an appreciation of the public's knowledge of the actual role of the police. Figures 10a.11 and 10a.12, to be found in Appendix 10(a), identifies the number of questions that the public sample responded to within the interviews. This is identified in a similar method to the focus of the rank analysis to ensure that the questions were responded to in a manner which would provide a suitable range of responses.

- Previous Experience of Policing.

Both the police and public sample groups were asked about their former experiences with the police. For the police group this question related to any former involvement or understanding of policing prior to joining the police service, or alternatively, any experiences outside their current role. For both groups, involvement with policing was generally identified or associated with relationships

linked to policing or activities associated with the law and /or policing. This ranged from having members of the family or friendships with police officers, to being a victim, witness, suspect of crime or working in environments associated with policing. Figure 10a.13 in Appendix 10(a) identifies the result of the question;

'Do you have any previous experiences with the police service'.

- Do the Police do a Good Job?

When asked, *'Do you think that the police do a good job in your area?'.* In the public sample 20% of the group said they felt that the police did a relatively poor job. Whilst in the police sample 12% felt that the police did a relatively poor job. This opinion again was not directly correlated with having a close association with policing. The notion of doing a poor job as identified by the research was directly associated with, in the majority of cases, specific negative experiences or in the lack of policing presence when requested in others. Both the public and police groups who identified this as an issue produced similar justifications to underline their negative beliefs.

One police officer within the sample recalled that he had been arrested and subsequently charged with a serious offence whilst he was a student prior to joining Leicestershire Constabulary. He felt that as a member of a BAME community he had received very poor treatment by officers of the Metropolitan Police Force and, even though the court case consequently exonerated him he felt

that instead of apologising for their behaviour towards him, officers involved in the case appeared almost resentful, that in spite of his innocence, he had not been found guilty. This had been a factor in his wanting to become a police officer, but, he felt that whilst some officers undoubtedly did a good job, this was still not at a satisfactory level. Another officer, a long serving police sergeant, close to retirement, noted that the police *did an indifferent job* which he felt was rather worrying.

In all, 14% of the total population of this research rated the performance of the police service as generally poor (Figure 10a.14 in Appendix 10a).

- Gender

Whilst gender was not focussed upon specifically for the purposes of this research; it is noted as an additional factor which might be associated with influence or bifurcation towards a particular attractor within the scenario, and subsequently be associated with a specific response and impact on process (Figure 10a.15 in Appendix 10(a). In their responses to a number of scenarios, police officers and their managers frequently identified the victim at the heart of the incident as female referring to 'she' within the interview where gender had not been formally defined by the context.

Having reviewed basic information about the subjects of the research the following chapter will provide information about methods used by the researcher to map the data from the scenario based questions.

- Concluding Remarks

As the discussion associated with the development of a suitable research methodology for this thesis indicates, particular care has been taken to review potentially relevant structures from which to consider the techniques of researching the wicked problems faced by officers policing local communities. One of the more challenging aspects of this is highlighted by section 7.8 which indicates that it is potentially difficult to ascertain the wants or the needs of the public when it comes to policing because they generally do not wish direct police engagement in their daily life. Circumstances can change this dynamic however and if citizens become victims of crime their perceptions may change. As a result they appear to want, rather than need a constant, visible, immediate service.

Those citizens, who offend, for more obvious reasons, will not be desirous of police engagement.

Epistemological approaches which provide pluralistic vistas into community/ police engagement however provide the researcher with an opportunity to challenge reductionist perspectives which appear to focus more on outcomes rather than process.

It is believed by the researcher that an identification of process indicates need which has consequently been reflected in the design of the research and scenario based questions.

Recruiting both police and public samples as sections 7.15d) and e) reveals was not a straight forward process but nevertheless as Chapter 8 indicates, both sample types provided responses which provide a dynamic but relevant response to a particularly complex question.

Chapter 8

The Data Mapping Exercise

8.1 Phase 1 Developing the Control Maps/Schematics

In order to engage with the research materials in a manner that would suitably exhibit their complexity, a *control element* data was derived from the responses to the scenarios given by an experienced Police trainer. This officer was chosen for his competence in post, exemplified by formal relevant qualifications held, experience (over 20 years in post) and responsibility for having trained several thousand PCSOs and Police Officers of various ranks in a number of regional police forces in the UK.

The responses, which were based on national police training requirements, were then combined with actions identified by the NOS requirement (2C1), in order to develop a template or map/schematic of a preferred sequence of activity which would, for the purposes of this research, represent the actions of officers expected by the Home Office. Baseline responses were initially mapped within a *foundation level* schematic to identify areas of *attraction*, *bifurcation*, *spheres of influence* (such as shadow systems) and *processes* linked to behaviours¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁷ A detailed example of this process is to be found in Figure 8.9 Draft 1 of the mapping process Response from Sgt 1.

8.2 Justification for and development of mapping concept

Lima (2011:251), emphasises the need to develop an individual's mental image of reality from a straight forward representation of decision making in order to change what can be seen at a surface level, to a more insightful display that; *'shifts the focus to the hidden but more meaningful.....causal factors that relate action to impact'*. He continues by stating that; *'a well-designed ambient visualisation should have the unique power to also help shape our identity as well as our experience of a place'*

The totality of understanding which is associated with, or is developed as a result of the physical expression of forms of visual information, not only has an associative identity within complexity or complex systems but also Gestalt psychology (Dondis 1974:Todorović 2007). This suggests an appeal not only to visual senses but also somatosensory perception. These elements evidence support for an approach which reflects a visual representation of a world view.

There is additionally an association with a cultural/ linguistic perception of the world, as generally reflected in research which explores the meaning and application of the *'Sapir Whorf Hypothesis'* such as that undertaken by Kay and Kempton (1984).

'....the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which have to be organized in our minds. This means, largely, by the linguistic system in our minds'. (Whorf 1956:1940).

This highlights the general idea that the language we use, and its subsequent interpretation, is prone to internal as well as environmental influences, as the theory of *Linguistic Relativity* suggests, that thought may be dependent on language (linguistic determinism) and additionally represent unique forms of language-specific encoding (linguistic relativism). As the researcher recorded and plotted the responses to the scenario based questions, she was mindful of the possible impact of linguistic relativity on the work. Policing has its own language which may need interpretation at times. The word 'Nominal' for example means someone who has previously been found guilty of an offence but it is applied to an individual of criminal interest who may not have previously been found guilty of an offence.

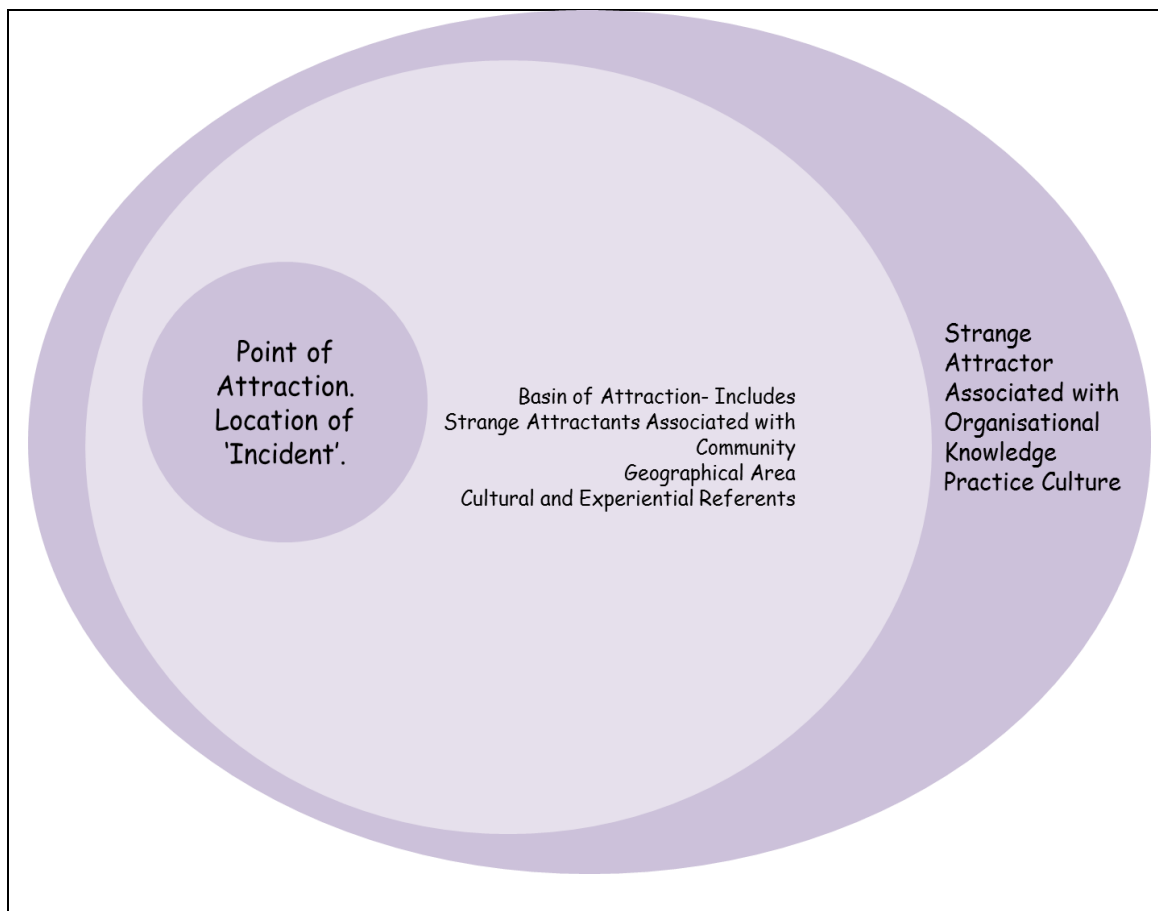
According to Sapir; *'Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society...The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built on the language habits of the group...We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation'*. (Sapir as cited in Littlejohn, 2002, p.177). Thus a more comparable representation of experiences and expectations may be represented by the development of a visual representation of the processes initially identified by lexical responses to the research questions. In doing this, the essence of the meanings located within the

'occupational language' associated with policing can be retained whilst simultaneously becoming a relevant mode of comparison for other responses.

As a consequence, maps were generated to visually represent an organised, structural, three dimensional mental image of reality, which simply accounted for the physical and cognitive differences of the respondent's understanding, and any cultural influences in their interpretation and application of language. This conceptual model reflected not only perceptions of the groups interviewed but additionally acknowledged time as a factor within a police response. This was identified by the use of different types of lines within the mapping process.

It was posited that the map created as a result of the 'control' response to the research scenarios would provide the baseline against which responses from the three study groups might initially be evaluated. All materials would be subsequently plotted on a foundation schematic (indicated in Figure 8.1) which reflects the influences of complex systems on the actions and decisions taken.

Figure 8.1: Foundation schematic of the mapping process

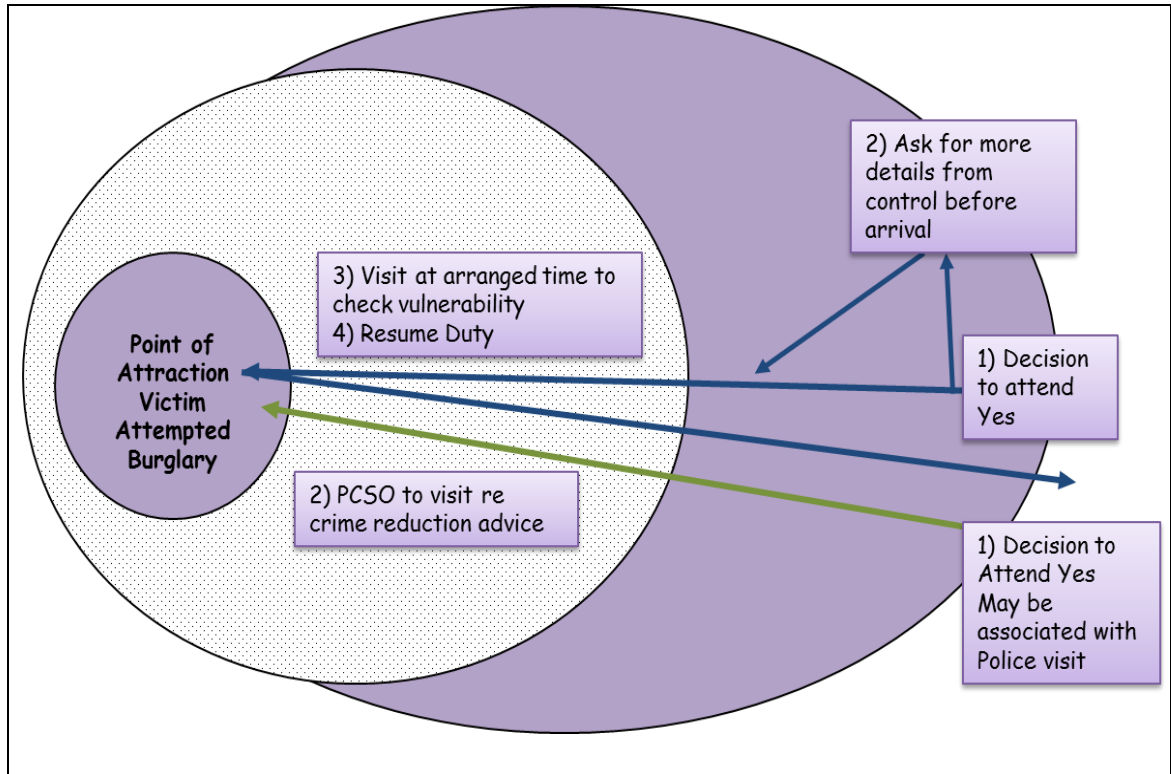


Where officer-specific activities for the PCSO and/or Police Officer role were identified by the *control element*¹¹⁸, they were subsequently noted in the template-mapping process by labels highlighting this requirement. The following diagrams represent the drafts of processes distilled from this initial plotting exercise.

¹¹⁸ As noted in 8.1

8.3 Mapping for Scenario 1 Attempted Break in

Figure 8.2: Basic process indicated by the control subject for Scenario 1 'Attempted Break In'¹¹⁹.



It should be noted that the control mapping exercise provides for the very basic level of activity. Table 1 records the commentary provided by the control subject which was subsequently extracted and applied to the schematic. Four actions have been consequently transferred from the commentary provided by the control elements and have thus been plotted on to the foundation schematic.

¹¹⁹ Police officer actions indicated by blue arrow PCSO actions indicated by green

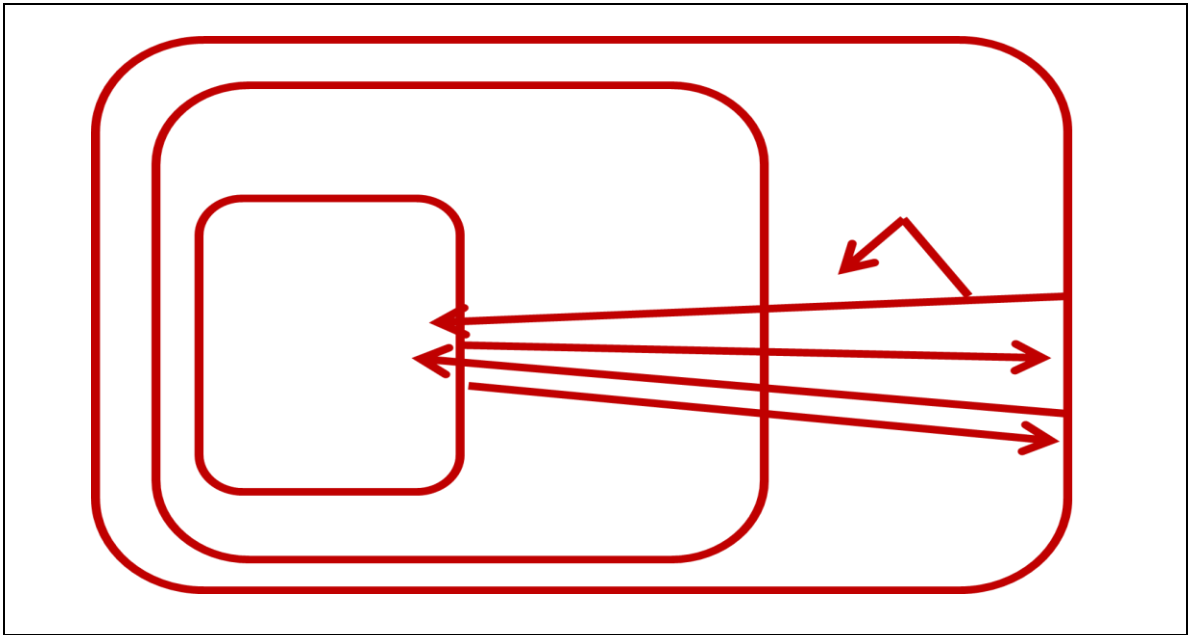
Figure 8.2 a): Control 'Commentary' Actions in Scenario 1

Police Officer	PCSO
1) To attend 2) To contact control for more information 3) To visit at pre-arranged time - Check vulnerability and give necessary advice. 4) After which officers may continue normal patrol duties.	To attend- this may be associated with a police visit. To visit for reassurance and give crime reduction advice

8.4 The Development of Overlay Templates

Templates of the key features highlighted by the mapping process were generated to enable an overlay, which was based on the research, to highlight similarities or contrasts between task expectations, (from the management group); hypothetical or actual responses, (from front line staff) and public requirements. Figure 8. 3 provides an example of the template overlay derived from the map of the basic process for the suspected 'Break in' scenario indicating the simplified procedure of basic expected action. Each of the overlays were drawn as a result of the identification of key bifurcation points or points of attraction from the basic NOS based process maps.

Figure 8.3: Template for key features of the NOS/Control process Scenario 1.

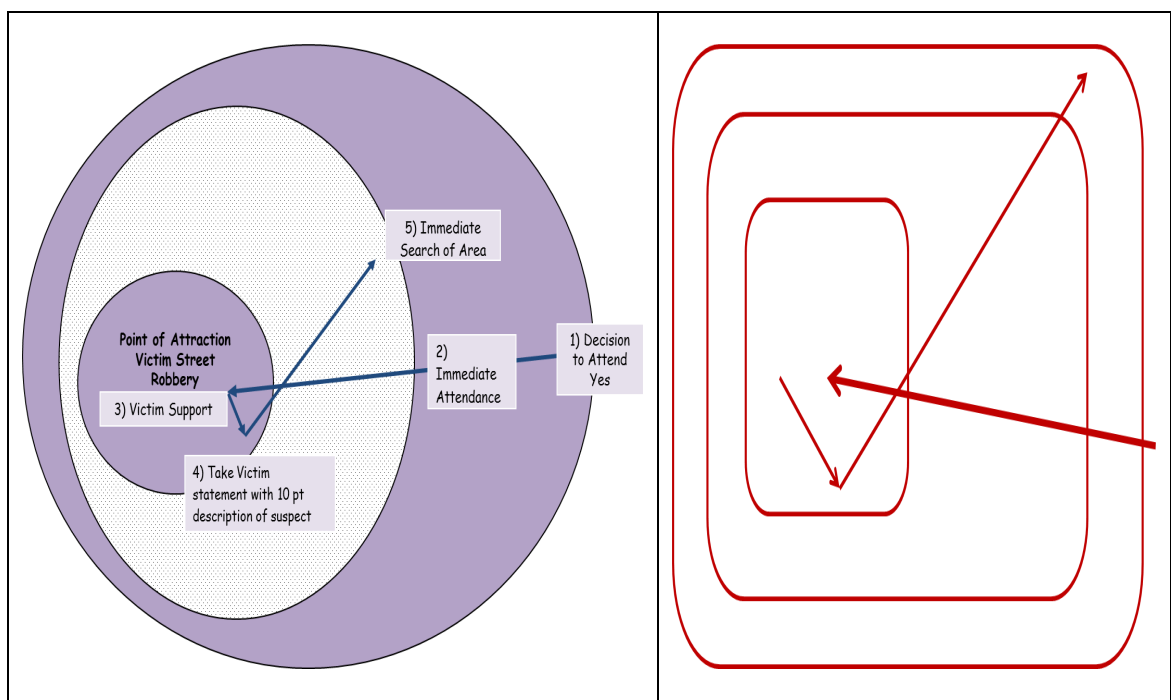


The following sections reflect the results of the consolidation of the analysis and mapping process undertaken which provided the foundation of the basic procedural structure of the research method of this work.

8.5 Scenario 2 Mapping for Street Robbery

There was repetition of the procedures formerly explained in relation to Scenario 1, involved in this part of the exercise in order to ensure a consistent approach. Like the map, template and linear table process formerly reported, Figures 8.2; 8.2a) and 8.3 reflect the construction of elements for this stage of the work. Whilst small scale maps have been provided within this chapter to aid comparisons of process, larger versions of a sample of the maps produced as a result of this exercise are to be found in Appendix 10.

Figure 8.4: Control Mapping for Scenario 2 'Street Robbery'¹²⁰ with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process¹²¹



¹²⁰ PCSO actions not deemed appropriate by control in this scenario. . Police officer actions indicated by blue arrow

¹²¹ A larger version of this is to be found in Appendix 10

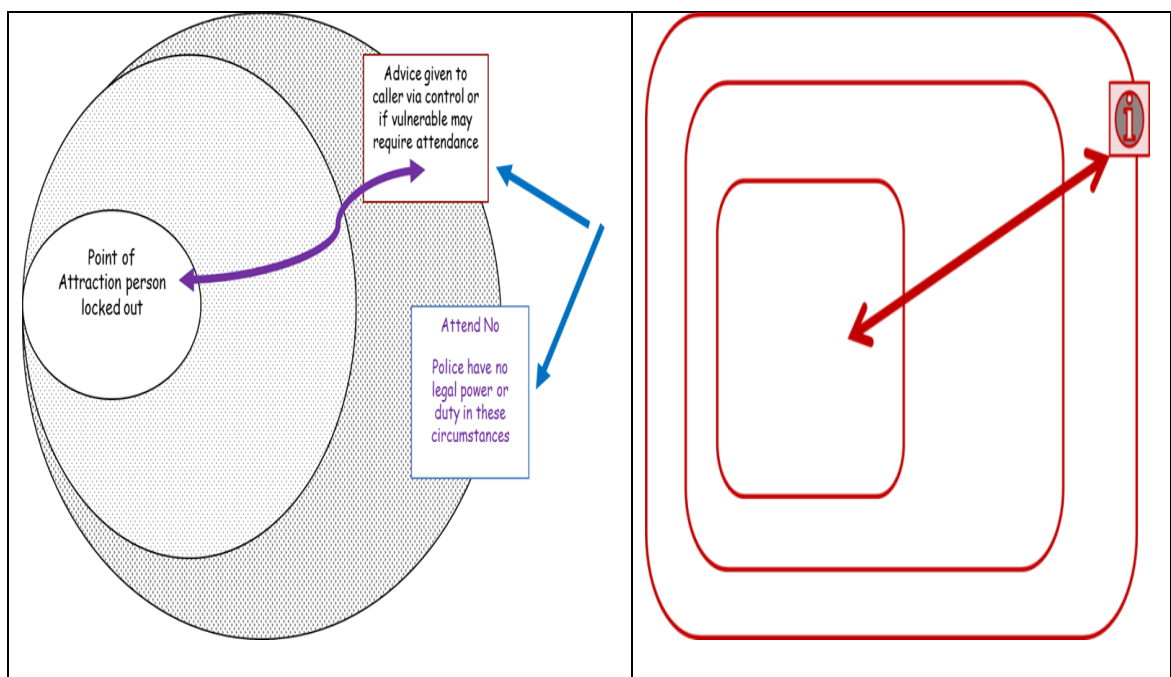
Figure 8.4a): Control 'Commentary' Actions in Scenario 2

Police Officer	PCSO
<p>Decision made to attend-</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>Immediate</u> Attendance Required 2) Victim Support - type of support to be decided at scene 3) Statement taken with 10 point description of suspect 4) Immediate Search of Area for suspect -after which resume patrol 	<p>Non Attendance - PCSO has insufficient policing powers for this type of scenario</p>

8. 6 Scenario 3 Mapping for 'Locked Out' Scenario

Unlike the mapping process associated with the control maps and tables for Scenarios 1 and 2; Scenario 3 was not deemed to be within the police remit by the control. It was noted that information to that effect should, as a consequence, be provided to the caller by a *Call Handler* at the time of initial enquiry.

Figure 8.5: Control Mapping for Scenario 3 Locked Out with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process



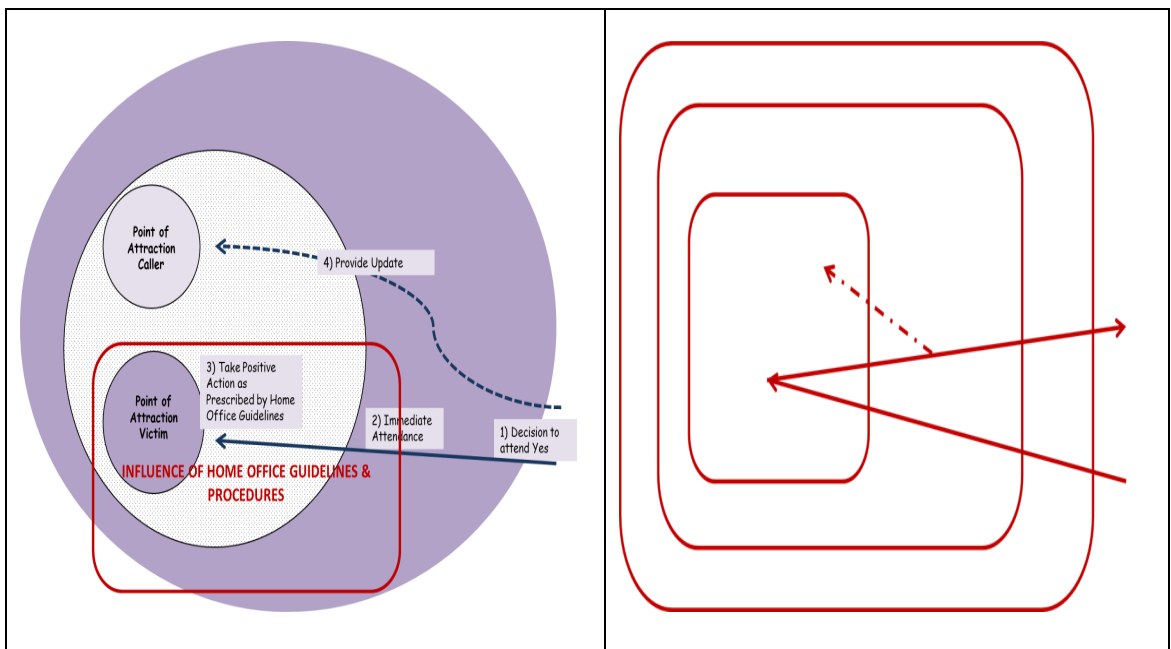
This scenario does however reflect the type of response that might be expected of a member of the police service by members of the community as it is historically associated with the more positive aspects of police/community support (see as an example the public information film, 'The British Policeman' 1959).

It was accepted by the Control that this situation was subject to change if the caller was identified as being vulnerable by the Call Handler. Under such circumstances a decision might be made for either type of front line officer to attend in order to provide support.

8.7 Scenario 4 Mapping for 'Domestic Incident'

Like the maps, templates and linear table processes formerly reported; Figures 8.6 and 8.6a) reflect the construction of elements for this stage of the work. It should be noted however that for the purposes of mapping, in this situation officers should respond to both caller and potential victim/offender needs. They additionally need to be conscious of Home Office requirements which advocate a process of 'Positive Action'. This requires officers to be mindful of their obligations under the Human Rights Act 1998 and take 'reasonable action, which is within their powers, to safeguard rights of victims and children' (ACPO 2008, p.26)

Figure 8. 6: Control Mapping for Scenario 4 'Domestic Incident'¹²² with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process



¹²² Police officer actions indicated by blue arrow PCSO actions not deemed appropriate.

Figure 8.6a): Control 'Commentary' Actions in Scenario 4

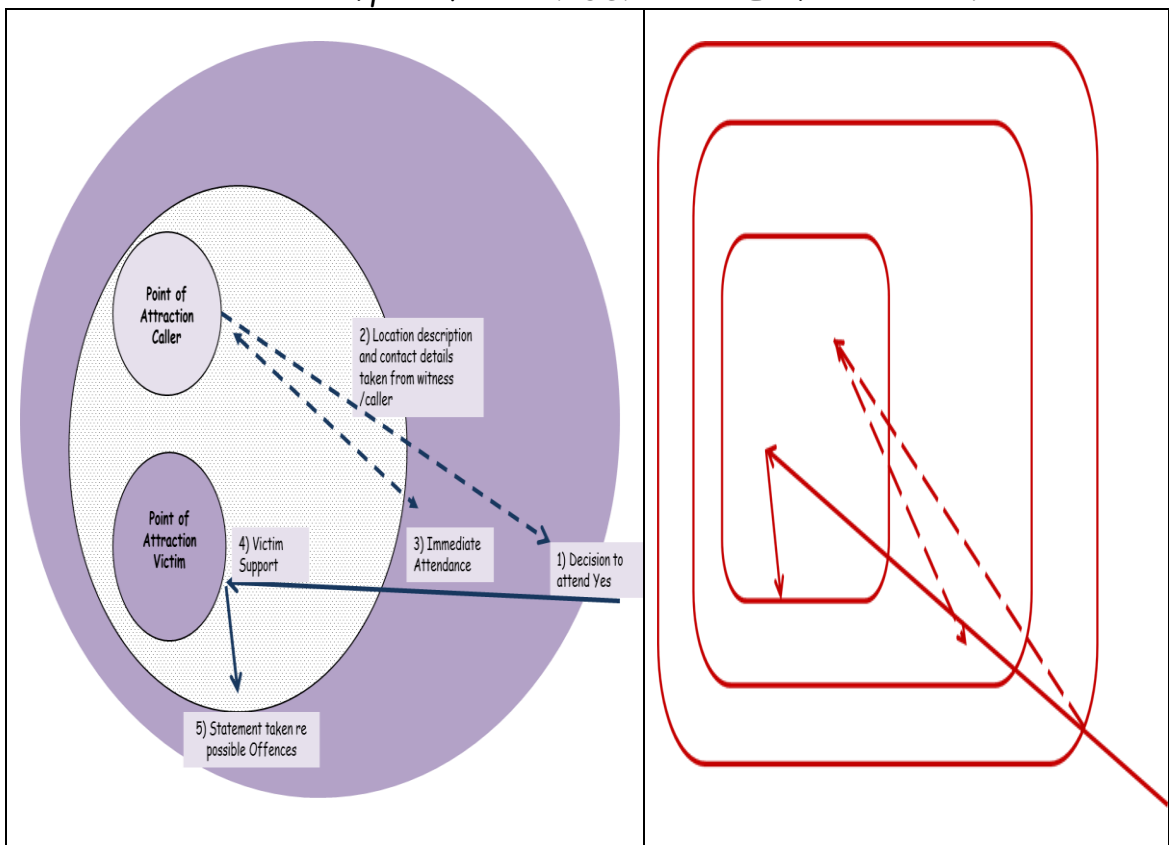
Police Officer	PCSO
<p>Decision made to attend-</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>Immediate</u> Attendance Required 2) Take Positive Action as prescribed by the Home Office 3) Update Caller -after which resume patrol 	<p>Non Attendance - PCSO has insufficient policing powers for this type of scenario</p>

8.8 Scenario 5 Mapping for 'Common Assault'

In relation to the crime of common assault as reflected by scenario 5 officers should meet the expectations of the victim and the caller who is a potential witness to these events. Figures 8.7 and 8.7a) consequently reflect this expectation.

Figure 8.7: Control Mapping for Scenario 5 'Common Assault'¹²³

¹²⁴with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process.



¹²³ Police officer actions indicated by blue arrow PCSO actions not deemed appropriate.

¹²⁴ The dotted blue lines represent independent contact to the caller prior to arrival at the scene

Figure 8.7a) Control 'Commentary' Actions in Scenario 5

Police Officer	PCSO
<p>Decision made to attend-</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Location description and contact details taken from witness /caller 2) <u>Immediate</u> Attendance Required 3) Victim Support 4) Statement taken re possible offences- after which resume patrol 	<p>Non Attendance - PCSO has insufficient policing powers for this type of scenario</p>

8.9 Scenario 6 Mapping for "Community ASB"

In this scenario there is the need to represent multiple layers of attraction (Figure 8.8), and a requirement to engage with potentially diverse organisational procedures, interests and cultural requirements. Whilst the map simplifies the reality (it maps the scenario exactly according to the control feedback) there may well be a number of additional points which would represent activities from and to the 'basin of attraction' which may be drawn towards the needs of the families involved (their point of attraction), and organisational/procedural requirements of the multiple agencies associated with the resolution of the problem. There will additionally be the impact of local procedures which will guide both police and agency partners to behave 'generally' according to agreed procedures¹²⁵. Kirwan (2011) associates this form of complex 'rhizome' with the sort of activities described by Weiner (1950) in relation to cybernetics and the development of a collective intelligence.

¹²⁵ (See Daniels et al (2007), Home Office (2013) and ACPO (2009) for examples of the impact of such procedural advice and policy outputs).

Figure 8.8: Control Mapping for Scenario 6 'Community ASB¹²⁶' with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process

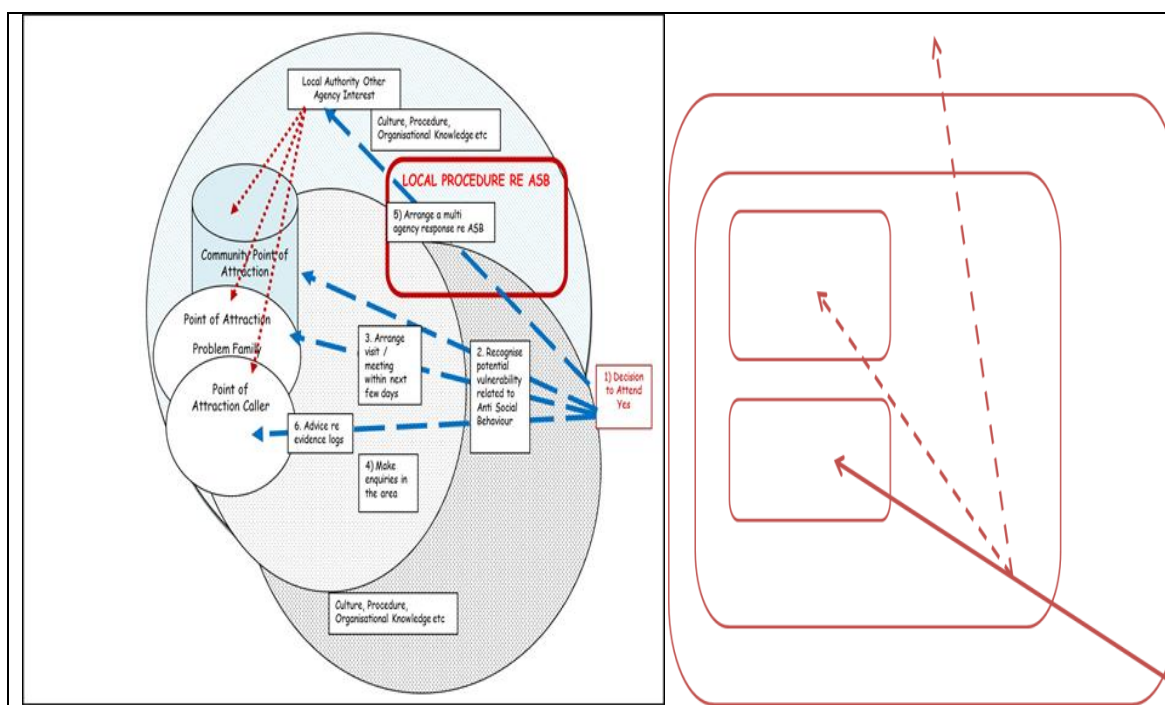


Figure 8.8a): Control 'Commentary' Actions in Scenario 6

Police Officer	PCSO
1) Decision made to attend- 2) Recognise potential vulnerability related to Anti-Social Behaviour 3) Arrange visit / meeting within next few days 4) Make enquiries in the area 5) Arrange a multi-agency response re ASB 6. Advice to Caller re evidence logs	PCSO/PC roles are interchangeable in this scenario

¹²⁶ 'Police officer /PCSO actions are indicated by blue spaced arrow. This is a Multi-agency intervention so PCSO /PC actions interchangeable. Multi agency actions are indicated by red dotted arrows.

8.10 Scenario 7 Mapping for "Youth ASB?"

Like the previous map this scenario is also associated with anti-social behaviour and provides for additional input from partner agencies and local attractants, (indicated by the red triangle).

Figure 8. 9: Control Mapping for Scenario 7 'Youth ASB?' with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process

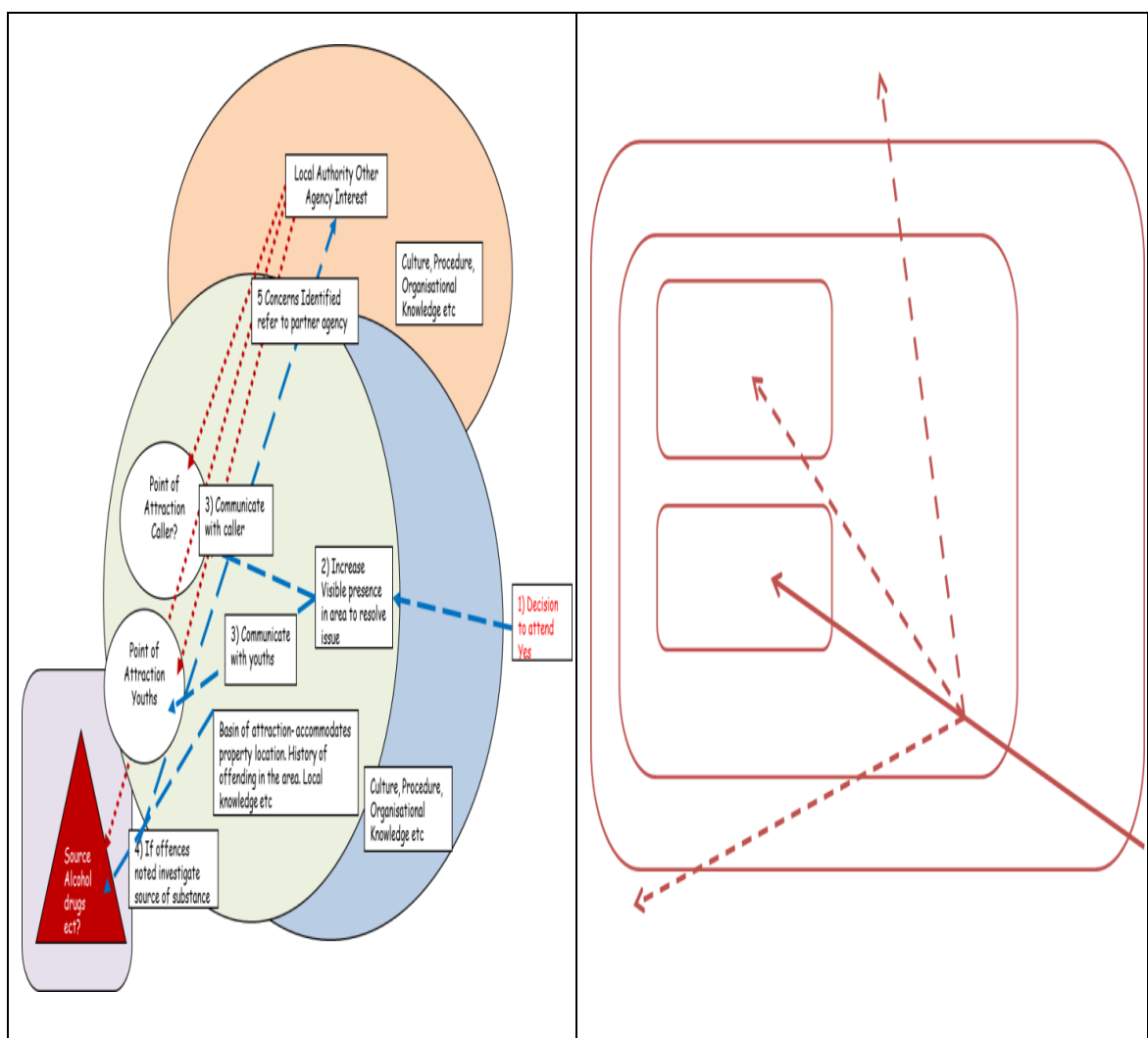


Table 8.9a): Control 'Commentary' Actions in Scenario 7

Police Officer	PCSO
1) Decision to attend Yes 2) Increase Visible presence in area to resolve issue 3) Communicate with youths 4) If offences noted investigate source of substance 5 If concerns identified refer to partner agency 6) Communicate with caller	PCSO and Police officer role are noted as interchangeable

Having identified a process for mapping basic points of attraction as identified by the control subject/NOS data, the need to observe and reflect the impact of multiple responses to the individual scenarios was now considered. As a mapping exercise for all responses might result in potentially confusing plots a number of alternative methods of reviewing the data visually was initially considered. One proposal was that the material might be coded as diagrams or words and entered into NVivo 8 software for a full analysis to be undertaken. Doubts about this method and the potential objectivity of the result was identified by the researcher in a trial run which tested and analysed data which was associated with an alternative piece of independent research, again, focussed on policing (Crisp 2010 unpublished).

These initial concerns have subsequently been confirmed by Wiltshier (2011) who concluded that whilst the package enabled emerging themes to be highlighted and new perspectives to be generated it was felt that the package; *'invited the user to exceed the limits for the conclusions which can be drawn from qualitative analysis'*. This perception is also underlined in work by Schonfelder (2011) . It was thus important that the techniques of complex analysis and the consequent visual representation of data should be suitably reflected without compromising the integrity of the analysis (Atkinson 2005).

Other graphics packages were tested to distinguish whether they might better represent the structures in a more relevant 3D format. A Free graphics software package 'Diagram 1dia.' was initially tested to ascertain whether multiple processes might be suitably reflected. Whilst it was possible to develop tree diagrams and analytical flow charts within this package it was felt that the core data needed to be reflected in a more 'layered' manner which might accommodate the potential difference from the control. This did not appear to be possible within this package.

iModeler and Grafio packages were also reviewed and unsuccessfully tested for their flexibility and ability to represent the data in a less complex but more engaging manner.

It was finally decided to continue mapping data by utilising the diagram format software within the Microsoft Power-Point presentation package but to subsequently model and generate additional images by transferring the mapping data to an *iclone* animation package which would then physically show the different behaviours expected within each group. It was anticipated that the final maps would thus provide a transparent, objective account of the data

The completed maps have consequently been processed and held within an *Articulate* presentation package format which provides a novel, interactive element to the thesis and additionally ensures access to all elements of the

mapping procedure making it absolutely visible and auditable. This data is held on a disk which is available for review.

- Procedure

Each map was generated in three stages. The first stage involved the researcher in the numerical ordering of the research subject's responses to the scenario based question. These were subsequently plotted on to a basic draft. The map created as a result of the first draft phase was 'tidied up' as part of the second draft to ensure greater visual clarity of content and process. Finally the groups of maps produced as a result of this process were collated and consolidated to reflect the behaviours and opinions of the subject groups highlighting in particular differences. Maps could then be compared between one another and against the NOS template.

The next section of this thesis will reflect a more detailed explanation of the process and provide evidential samples of the data sets. Larger versions of these examples are to be found in Appendix 11.

8.12 Data Analysis Scenario 1 Attempted 'Break in'.

a) Responses from Front Line Staff

The following research scenario was presented to the sample of front line officers. In total twenty six officers responded within this group:

I gave a member of the public the following scenario:

You are at home alone one evening and you hear a noise as though someone is trying to break in to your home - You put on the main lights and the noise stops but on investigation you find that someone has tried to force entry to your back door. I then asked them under this situation- Would you contact the police?

a) Should they call the police?

b) In your capacity as front line police staff if called to this incident what would you do?

Out of the research sample five Police Sergeants, eight Constables and thirteen PCSOs responded to Scenario 1. All respondents believed that in response to the first question associated with this scenario, that the public should contact the police (question a). There were however a number of different responses to question b), which was, as part of the analysis, mapped onto the schematic and subsequently compared with the 'control' and other respondent groups.

b) Examples of the mapping process

The mapping process of the decisions/responses by front line staff underwent a number of iterations in order to ensure accuracy, validity and clarity of content. Initially statements made by the respondents were aligned with a series of sequential numbers which were associated with the temporal linearity of the response. These were subsequently associated in sequence with actions and mapped onto the schematic. The following diagram provides an example of a first draft of the mapping process.

Figure 8.10: Mapping example: Draft 1 of the mapping process -

Response from Sgt 1

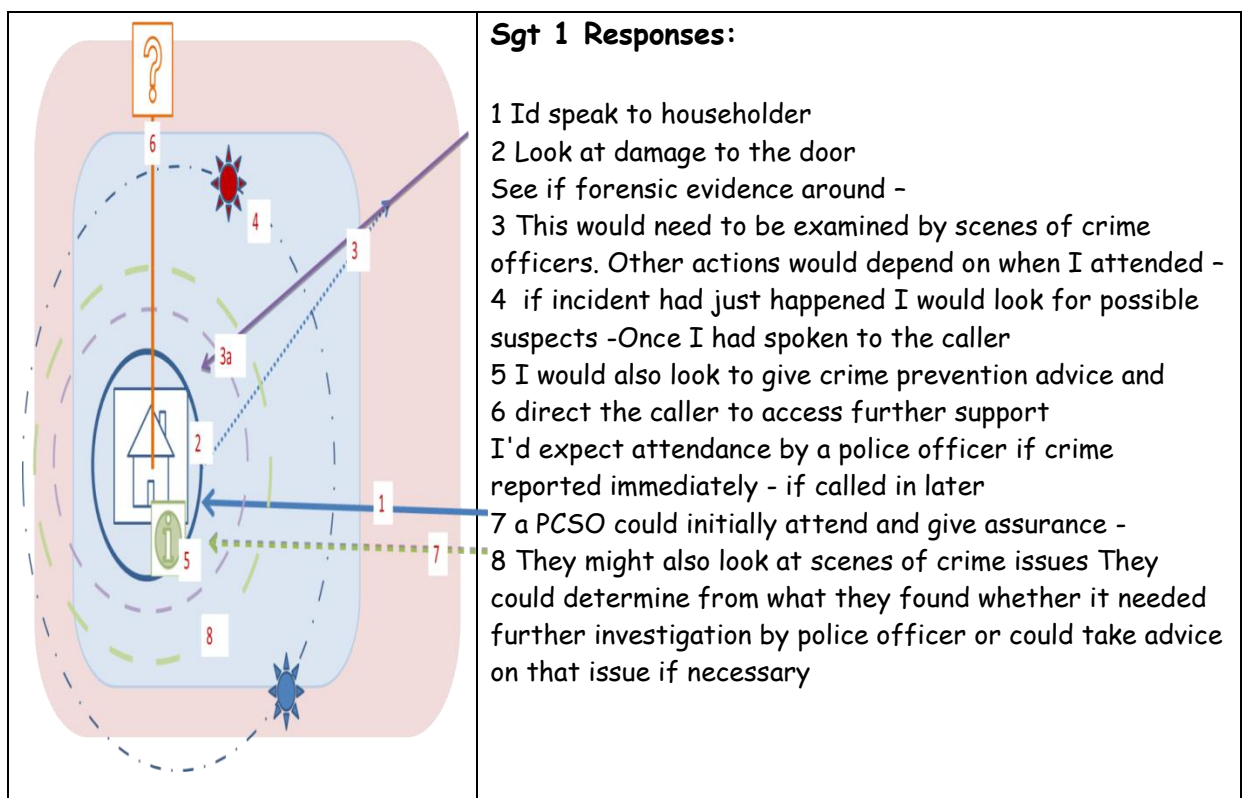
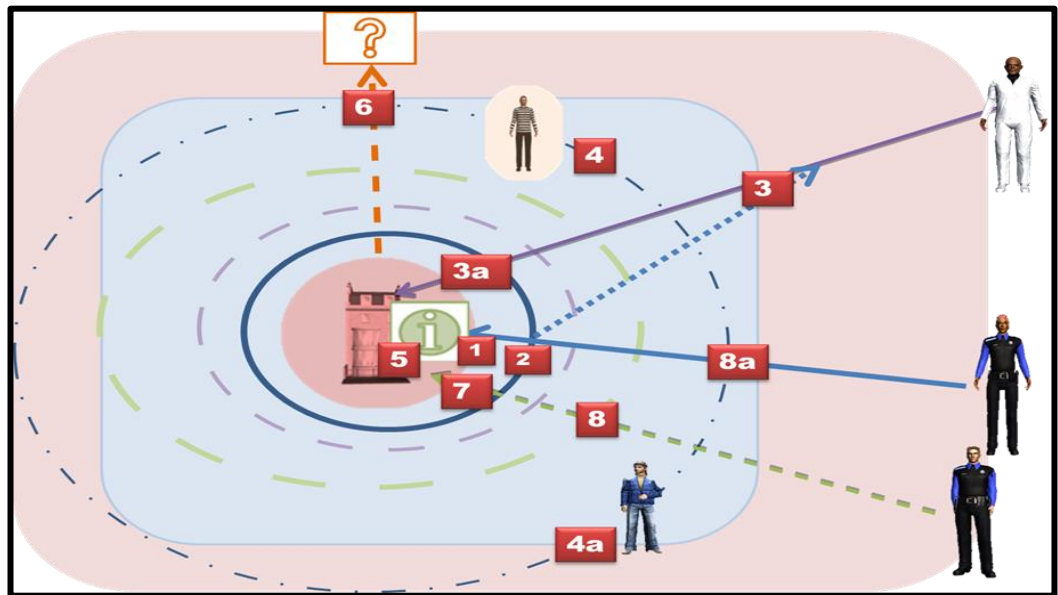


Figure 8.10a Mapping example Draft 2 of the mapping process -

Response from Sgt 1



The second draft map considers these responses in a more dynamic way; identifying the potential attractants of the local community which includes knowledge and perceptions about that community but also the perceptions and knowledge of the community about levels of crime. Similarly, it recognises that this 'basin of attraction' holds for the officers who attend; positive, negative or neutral perceptions about the local community which may be reinforced by the culture of policing or their knowledge or practice of the law.

At the heart of this basin sits the core attractor which relates to the property and/ or potential victim/s involved. This is overlaid by the processes identified by Sgt 1 as an appropriate response to the incident. This process is clearly associated with the evolution of a grounded theory (Dey 1999).

The 'actors' and their 'actions' which were identified by the respondent, have consequently been represented by a more visually comprehensive image to facilitate clarity and understanding. The images, which were created by the researcher to *signify* the perceived behaviours of the various actors and potential actors involved within the scenarios, are consistently applied within each scenario however; they may be alternately applied between scenarios.

In scenario 4 as an example, the possible victim of domestic assault may be male or female. As a result, both *signifiers* (the male and female images) can be viewed as either a victim or an offender. The same images are used in other scenarios to represent victims of crime or callers to the police.

Whilst a series of keys have been created to provide an overview of meaning for all of the image/signifiers within the research, the keys which are directly associated with each scenario presents information which symbolises subject responses directly associated with that scenario.

In addition to reflecting the specific events considered by each scenario signifier keys fall into the following categories:

- *Police Behaviours;*
- *Occupational Tools*
- *Locations*
- *Police /Alternate Organisational Actors*
- *Attractors;*
- *The Public*

As the mapping process continued it became obvious that there were numerous potential responses to the scenario and apparent that there were role, (potentially duty specific) related responses exhibited by different members of the front line officer group which might be associated with the influence of possible shadow systems of culture and the expectations of society. Because of the diverse nature of each potential role within the category of 'front line officer' it was difficult to visually reflect behaviours which might not be easily generalizable. Each role within this category appeared to have its own unique set of attractants associated with activities in spite of necessary similarities within the resolution of the scenario description. In some of the scenarios for example some PCSO respondents acknowledged that they should not be involved in resolving the problems outlined having no relevant policing powers, but would however still be sent to attend. Sergeant ranks tended to explore the scenarios in a slightly different way to other front line officers and tended to draw together responses which bridged those between senior managers and front line staff.

Due to the potential for over complication of the mapping exercise caused by the diversity of response it was decided to separate the front line analysis in to three components to represent each rank in order to identify any differences or trends within them. These ranks would then be compared to the other respondent groups within the research.

As Glaser and Strauss (1967;28) note;























'While verifying is the researcher's principal goal and vital task for existing theories we suggest that his main goal in developing new theories is their purposeful systematic generation from the data of social research. . . . Thus, generation of theory through comparative analysis both subsumes and assumes verification, and accurate descriptions, but only to the extent that the latter are in the service of generation.'

8.13 Generating the Keys for the Mapping Process

To facilitate mapping the responses to the scenario based questions the researcher designed a number of visual signifiers which it was felt provided a suitable representation of the actors and behaviours highlighted by the research subjects. To accommodate the differences identified within each scenario, a scenario specific 'key' was developed which represented the potential variants.

Before reviewing the first scenario specific key, the following section provides the reader with a series of tables which represent an overview of the signifiers.

Figure 8.11a) Signifiers of specific police behaviours/actions as reflected within the research scenarios

Behaviour	PCSO	Police Constable	Dog Handler	SOCCO	Other Officers	Victim /Caller
Immediate Action						
Communication						
Delayed Action						
Patrol						
No Action						
Mediation						
Positive Action						
Thank You						

As this table indicates, an immediate action for all subjects within the research is represented by a series of coloured, subject-specific unbroken lines. These lines indicate the physical direction of an actor and usually link to the centre of activity or attraction. Where this action is delayed the line becomes a series of long dashes. These lines may also reflect the passage of time, dependant on the scenario. Like the unbroken lines however they indicate the direction of an actor and his or her subsequent behaviours.

The various communications between actors and organisations are indicated by means of a series of dotted lines. Police patrol behaviours are usually indicated

by dots and dashed lines which circle around the centre of activity or attraction. Like the other lines in this table these lines are coloured and actor-specific.

Other activities noted within this table are self-explanatory as a non-activity or non-attendance to an incident, the mediation between actors - which may be facilitated by the police, and personal thanks to callers or other actors for their support of the police.

Figure 8.11b) Representations of areas of attraction


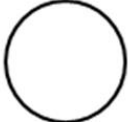









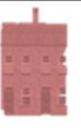














			
Alternative Action Focus	Potential Basins of Attraction	Possible location of Offender	Basin of Attraction Local attractants Influence of Patterns of Crime in the community <u>for Police Actors</u>
			
Private Landlord influence - culture, knowledge procedures <u>etc</u>	Local Authority influence - culture, knowledge procedures <u>etc</u>	Health based influence - culture, knowledge procedures <u>etc</u>	Organisational Knowledge Culture attractant for <u>Police Actors</u>

Figure 8.11b) represents some of the base line attractors to be found in this research. These are predominantly associated with basins of attraction and organisational cultural attractants which reflect police specific behaviours. Other organisational cultures and practices are indicated within some scenarios and are similarly identified by means of a colour code. These components are generally situated in the background of each map and are intended to indicate the

sometimes invisible action of pre-conception culture and former experience which may subtly influence behaviours.

Figure 8.11c) Locational attractors and behaviours

					
Alternative Place of Safety	Neighbourhood Property 1	Neighbourhood Property 2	Home of NOK NOK = Next of Kin	Home Address with Next of Kin 'NOK' Scenario 5	Move group to alternative Location
					
Suspect/Offender Nominal's or Known Offender's Address	Local Community	Caller's Home Address	Parents Home Address	Caller's Home Address	Vendor of Intoxicants
					
Suspect/Offender as a Centre of attraction	Property target of crime as Centre of Attraction	Property target of crime	Crime Scene	Properties in House to House Investigations	NOK NOK = Next of Kin

The table above indicates some of the location specific signifiers which are reflected within various scenarios within this research. As some of the images indicate, these are specifically associated as being the centre of attraction and, as such may reflect the principle location of police activity.

Alternatively, dependant on the scenario, additional areas of interest, suspicion or criminal activity may be reflected by signifiers which represent a secondary location of attraction. See as an example the *Suspect/Offender*
























'Nominal's (or Known Offenders) Home Address signifier which may be visited as a result of a local crime report.

The following two tables, Figures 8.11d) and e) provide an overview of a number of police and criminal justice associated actors and associated processes which have been use to populate the maps and reflect the opinions of the subjects about perceived actions of the police. Whilst a number of the signifiers have a reoccurring application within the scenarios there are also a number of images which reflect only the specific nature of the event under discussion.

Figure 8.11d) Police related signifiers

						
PCSO	Police Officers together with PCSO as Beat Team with PCSO in Flat cap	Police Officers	Mobile Response	Segeant	Dog Handler	SOCCO
						
Domestic Violence Unit	CID	Firearms Unit	Control FHQ	Court Process	Crown Prosecution Service	Police Station
						
Suspect's description	Language Line Interpreter	Unknown Response Or Undetermined Offence	Police Helicopter	Application of law Legal procedure	Ambulance Medical treatment	Crime Reports Or Case file
						
Victim personal Property security /Safety	Diarised Appointment	Risk assesment	CCTV	Issues such as poor lighting at crime scene	Victim Support	Statement
						
Information to public	Historical crime or family issues	Smartwater	Telephone Communication	Confiscation of substance if unlawfully held and consumed	Information about Offence	Other crime documentation




































Figure 8.11e) Police related signifiers

						
Diary of Evidence	Notification of Incident	Check Age and Identity	Dispersal Notice	No Further Action	Information about Youth Activities	Community Safety Partnerships
						
Pocket note book entry	Confusing or inaccurate information	Door stop	Key	Locksmith	Reassurance	Contact Details
						
Iron	Officer to break in Via window or door	Replacement door	Remove problem	Arrest	Officer Not attending	Womens Aid
						
Information to Police	Information to Public					

The final table in this section, Figure 8.11f), reflects the images/signifiers of a variety of actors, objects and organisations who have been identified by the subjects of this research as having a meaningful influence over the outcome of the scenarios. Some of these actors may however appear rather *eccentric* in their association with this research. The use of the RAC to gain access to property after becoming locked out of doors for example may be seen as an unusual route of access, but nevertheless as a component of a complex process it is important and evidences the unpredictability of a resolution to a simple problem.

Figure 8.11f)








































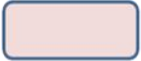
People/Public associated signifiers

					
Young People Suspects	Male and Female victims/suspects	Suspect/Offender 'ID Parade'	Suspect/Offender	Child Victim Scenario 5	Vulnerable Caller
					
Suspect 1 Scenario5	Suspect 2 Scenario5	Doctor/GP/Medical	Witness Member of the Public	Female Victim	Caller
					
Neighbour	Vulnerable Caller	Next of Kin	Male Victim	Health/Social Worker	Child Victim/ Vulnerable person
					
Victims Clothing	Credit Cards	Drink	ASB Officer	Evidence Collated and Further Action -ASBO's eviction etc	Youth Worker
					
Local Authority Worker Landlord	Parks or Environment Officer or Dog Warden	RAC	Trading Standards	Not Police responsibility or No contact with the police	Subjects of Complaint
					
Landlord	Anger Management Course	Female Victim /vulnerable caller with Baby	Key information networks	Charity Support	

Having reconnoitred the instruments which have been applied to the mapping process the next section will provide a more formal guide to the application of the signifiers within the Keys which have been specifically developed as a result of the responses to each scenario.

The following key is an example of one which was developed as part of the mapping process for Scenario 1.

Figure 8.12: Key to Mapping Process Scenario 1

   	Information to Police Reassurance to Public Information to Public	 Dog Van/Handler 	  	Statement or other police 'paperwork' Crime documentation Risk Assess	The Public 	Suspect/Offender  As Secondary Attractor	Police Constable 	PCSO 	SOCO 
  	Secure Premises CCTV Telephone	Helicopter   Nominal	Neighbourhood Property 1 	Neighbourhood Property 2 	Target of Crime- Centre of Attraction 				
Action by Police /PCSO later    Smartwater	Immediate Action at Scene PC  PCSO   Historical or family issues	Action by other Officers in area  Action by Victim  Control FHQ 	SOCO Attendance  Dog Handler Attendance  Dog Search/Patrol 	Basin of Attraction Local Attractants Patterns of Crime Community etc. 					
PCSO/ Police Patrol in area  	Contact by Officer with Organisational Resource  	Organisational Knowledge Culture Attractant 							

As a result of this initial procedure it was decided to undertake a similar review for each scenario and as a result generate a representative key. Each key, generated for their associated scenarios, thus provides a unique representation of

the different facets of the subject responses to the vignettes provided within the research.

8. 14 Revealing an Invisible Actor

It was quickly realised that in the majority of the recorded responses that a key member of the police response process was missing but hiding in plain sight. The role of the Call- Handler or '*Control*', based in the operations room at police 'Force Headquarters' (FHQ) held the power to send (or withhold) officers in response to each call for assistance, consequently grading the level of urgency for each response. In some circumstances, this grade or information would be complemented with background intelligence about the call. By recognising that officers should respond to the call and that the public should report the incident, each uniform group were acknowledging this role but taking their presence in the process for granted.

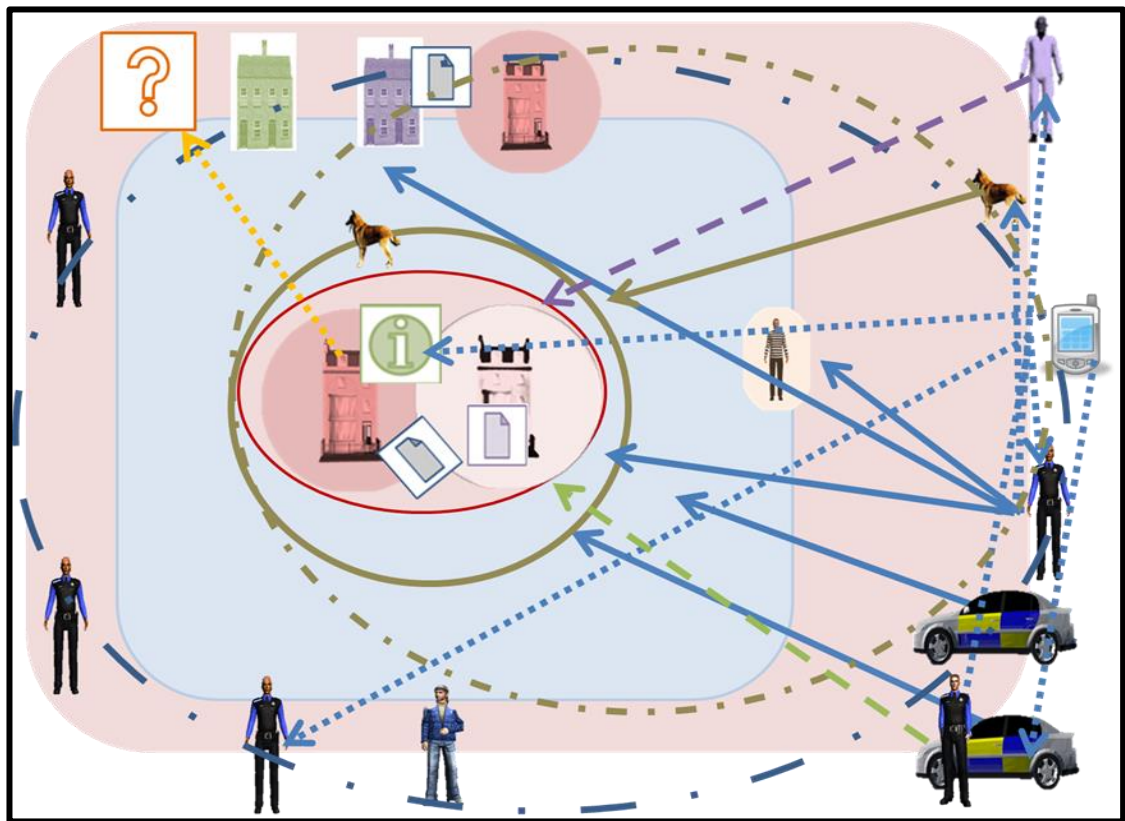
As this group of police civilian employees were not part of the research no data was abstracted. It should however be acknowledged as holding a potentially significant level of influence over the actions of officers attending incidents. As such, the role of Call Handler represents an important component of a policing shadow system.

8.15 Consolidating the Group Maps

a) Sergeant Responses

Once individual responses from front line officers had been suitably mapped onto the schematic, the results were distilled and subsequently consolidated into a map which represented *difference* within each group response.

Figure 8.13: Consolidated Response- Sergeants Scenario 1



In consolidating the Sgts responses a number of potential praxis or methods of dealing with this (relatively straightforward) incident can be observed.

Importantly there was recognition by all subjects that the attractant, that is the victim/victimised property, could exist simultaneously holding different characteristics within the same incident. This was dependent on reality but also on the perceptions of those involved; akin to the Schrödinger's cat dilemma. This type of multivariate attractant or configuration could subsequently affect the initial response however the nature of the incident and the perception of the call handler to the initial contact could elicit a number of potential responses. The consequence might be that any misunderstandings caused by the transmission or receipt of the message might elicit or catalyse unexpected behaviours at the core or target of the crime. This may alter the nature of the core attractant in some circumstances, changing the incident and its resolution, from a simple to a wicked problem. This might ultimately change the character of the record, report and response to the offence.

The property at the heart of the incident, for example, may need to be attended by officers as an emergency because of the householder's vulnerability or because of their description or report of the potential incident. A consequence of house to house enquiries may be the realisation that other neighbouring homes have been subject to a similar crime attempt. This may be identified as an expansion of the same crime activity or a non-related incident which emphasises the general vulnerability of an area. A neighbouring property may, for example, have been formerly targeted by an offender but the incident may not have been

reported to the police. This amalgamation of data relating to a neighbourhood is essential to the process of crime pattern analysis (Craglia et al 2000)

All of these variations make the initial report and response to the offence exist in different forms. This appears to be representative of; *'an accumulation of frozen accidents'* as noted by Gell-Mann (1995).

There was an acknowledgement by the Sergeant respondents that either the time of the incident or its report or the type of victim at the centre of report our basin of attraction may change the nature of response. As **Sgt 4** noted; *'If the Caller is vulnerable- (we should check) - a car could go straight there to the address- if necessary there may be the potential for a dog to track at the scene- we need a clinical scene preservation. The use of dogs are dependent on location for tracking'*

Whilst the impact of the Call Handler was rarely noted by the Sergeant group, their initial decision to send staff to an incident and accompanying direction is seen within the maps to alter the subsequent deployment of resources, and the responses subsequently identified by the front line officers. Call Handlers were noted within the consolidation processes as being available to give advice and reassurance or elicit further information from the caller. Klein et al's (2006) development of the *'data/ frame'* model of *'sense making'*, a technologically mediated activity, (Attfield and Blandford 2011), can be associated with this process as the response of the Call Handler, whilst it may be seen to be

mainly prescriptive in these contexts, can also be perceived as proactive being based on expertise and experience.

The Police Constable role in dealing with this situation was noted by all Sergeant Subjects as being paramount; if the response to, or report of the incident was postponed by victim however it was seen as less of a priority. In those circumstances the role of the PCSO was seen as useful in that it was appropriate for them to manage procedures at the scene, give reassurance to victims, (in this case the householder), take statements or make reports. Only one of the respondents did not acknowledge the potential use of this role.

Police Constables were generally seen by the Sergeant respondents as acting swiftly as an urgent response in vehicles to aid victims or swamping the area in order to *stop and search* potential suspects, who were also identified by the officers as incidentally being discovered on route to the location or as a result of this proactive search process. This positive action was associated with the early circulation of a description.

In addition to being at the centre of their own crime focussed attractant, members of the public were recognised as being potential witnesses to the incident as householders, or, become otherwise involved through stops and searches as part of the investigation process. The use of dogs or other specialists such as Scenes of Crime Officers (SOCOs) were seen as a valuable resource when associated with this scenario. The role of police dogs in particular,

when associated with the more immediate response, were seen as potentially guiding or influencing the direction of the subsequent investigation by uncovering scent trails and searching for possible suspects. The facilitation by officers or guidance to an alternative source of help for the victim was also recognised by one of our Sergeant respondents. Further comment about the direction from which that help might originate was notably absent.

As the consolidation map shows, unlike the managers and other front line officers no PCSO noted the possibility of using police dogs as a resource to take a scent trail and track an offender -part of a proactive criminal investigation. The more process driven aspects of investigative practice were focussed on, with three officers identifying the need to arrange for attendance by a SOCO. The procurement of additional physical information about the offence from CCTV was also noted as a source of possible evidence in the area.

Nine of the PCSO respondents noted that collaborative working with Police Officers and other teams within the police service was important. A couple stated that risk assessments would be important to their decision making processes throughout the incident and, most importantly, would affect their initial decision to attend. Another stated categorically that he would not attend this scenario as this was the role of a police officer. He subsequently recanted this decision however explaining in some detail what he would do if he was sent.

Officers of this rank appeared aware that the processing of intelligence about such an incident was important as was the care, support and security of the victim, which was at the heart of each response. This aspect was associated with officers linking to *KINS* or 'Key Information Networks' locally to raise awareness but also obtain intelligence about potential perpetrators. External organisations were identified as a source of further victim support; (*Feel Safe* was noted as being useful in this situation) but, contrary to possible expectations the principle

victims organisation Victim Support was not mentioned as the emphasis was on the physical security of the property and immediate support provided by a contact or family member of the victim. One PCSO remarked that he would board up windows and make property secure himself if necessary to ensure victim safety whilst another stated the need to return to the property later to check on the victim wellbeing. The formal requirement to update the victim of any developments in the case within 21 days was also identified by an officer (Victims code of Practice 2006) with the offer of *Smart Water*¹²⁷ to mark and identify property in case of any further occurrence.

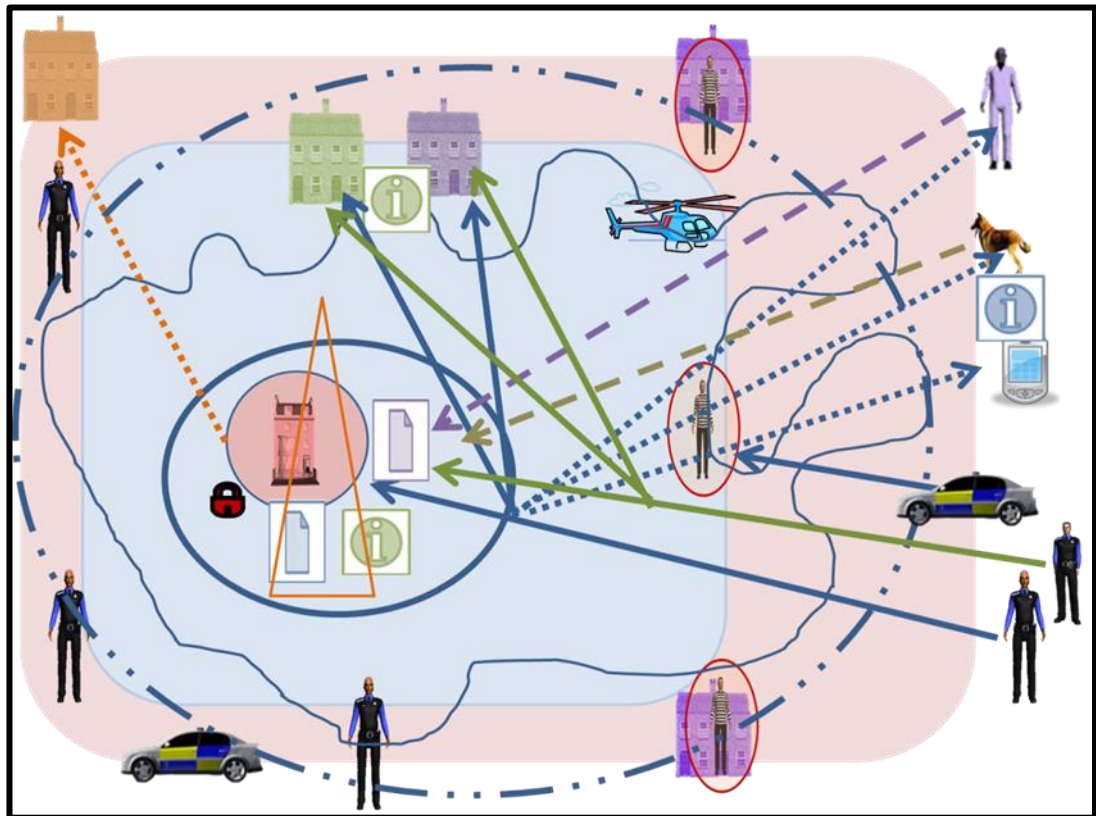
Historical issues relating to the householder or location were also considered as possibly important. Whilst this appeared to be approaching the incident in a different way to that identified by Senior Officer/Managers or Sergeants this element was also recognised by one of the Police Constable respondents. This may relate to the concept of repeat victimisation (Farrell and Pease 1993). The focus on the potential victim's subsequent needs was recognised by officers who reported the need to reassure the victim later on in the investigative process and stated that they would leave details of how to contact officer dealing with the incident.

¹²⁷ SmartWater is a proprietary forensic asset marking System and Strategy protected by worldwide trademarks and patents.

8.17 Consolidation of the Response by Police Constables

The following map provides a visual interpretation of the consolidated responses of 8 Police Constables who responded to this scenario.

Figure 8.13: Consolidated Response- Police Constables Scenario 1



Whilst there were a number of similarities with consolidated, 'mapped' responses from other ranks involved in the research the following areas were identified as being significant within the Police Constable data set.

Police procedure and investigation was accentuated by a number of officers who focused on the use of dogs to search and track possible offenders (four officers), the utilisation of helicopter support to track offenders and the use of SOCCO's

for evidence gathering at the scene (two officers). The need to swamp the area with various police resources and use powers of stop and check or search anyone *looking suspicious or fitting a description* was noted by a few members of this sample. Five officers subsequently reported that within the scenario there would be the potential for contact with a suspect as a result of police swamp activity in the area, or on route to the property. One of whom went further by suggesting that known offenders might be targeted as being more likely to have committed an offence of this type. This officer **(PC2)** focused solely on the possibility of arrest and failed to mention the term *victim* at all within his response.

'I would get as many officers there as I could- I'd place cordon on the area and ask for a dog. If the occurrence was recent and if the call out immediate-I would check nominals¹²⁸ in local area and check recent intelligence. I'd just ensure whilst I was there that if people in area looked suspicious I'd try to find out if they might be responsible'

In a similar vein another officer noted that once he got a description of a potential suspect he would endeavour to find them en-route to the incident, and, only if this failed would he attend the crime scene.

The use of front line partners within the service went largely ignored by the majority of this sample with only one officer recognising the use of a PCSO for

¹²⁸ Known offenders

door to door and crime prevention advice. Only one officer considered contacting a relative for support to the victim.

These behaviours appear to provide some contrast with other sample groups under consideration. Hughes and Huby, (2004, p.43) noted that vignette techniques of research may more generally evoke; '*socially desirable patterns of responding*', and, whilst it may be argued that this belief might have influenced or motivated some elements of the responses made by front line officers overall the response by Police Constables to Scenario 1 appears to reflect their general consensus of the importance of their role to the investigation of crime and the arrest of perpetrators as opposed to the focus on its victims.

8. 18 The Views of Police Managers

Six Police Managers were interviewed for the purposes of this research their ranks ranging from Inspector to Superintendent.

All six sample members of the group representing Senior Ranks (Police Managers), were given details of and responded to the following scenario (Scenario 1).

I gave a member of the public the following scenario:

You are at home alone one evening and you hear a noise as though someone is trying to break in to your home - You put on the main lights and the noise stops but on investigation you find that someone has tried to force entry to your back door. I then asked them under this situation

a) Would you contact the police?

b) If your Officers were called out under these circumstances what would they do?

All respondents believed that in response to the first question associated with this scenario that the public should contact the police (question a), as this was a potential crime in progress and members of the public should tell the police about their concerns.

Whilst there was an agreement that all officers sent to this incident should attend there were a number of different responses to question b), which was, as

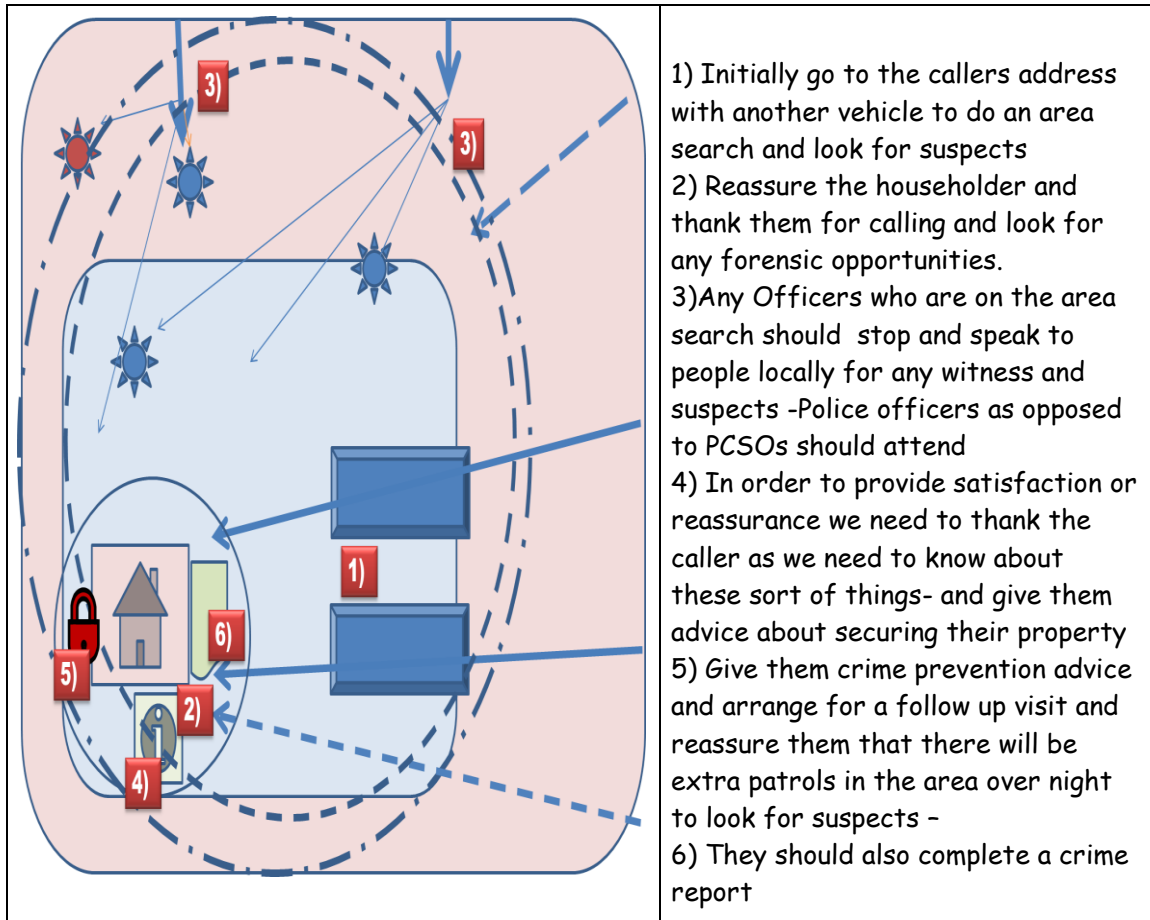
part of the analysis, mapped onto the schematic and subsequently compared with the 'control' and other respondent groups.

Whilst the question suggests that a crime might be underway it was deliberately vague in order to encourage the group to explore a number of potential responses. As formerly noted, the NOS/Control template identifies the following actions as an appropriate response to this incident:

- To attend
- To contact control for additional information (if required)
- To visit at a pre-arranged time
- To check vulnerability of victim/property and give necessary advice; after which officers may resume normal duties.

The following example shows an initial draft based on data from one of the members of the management sample

Figure 8.16: Stage 1 Example of Response Mapping Exercise Scenario1 -Manager1



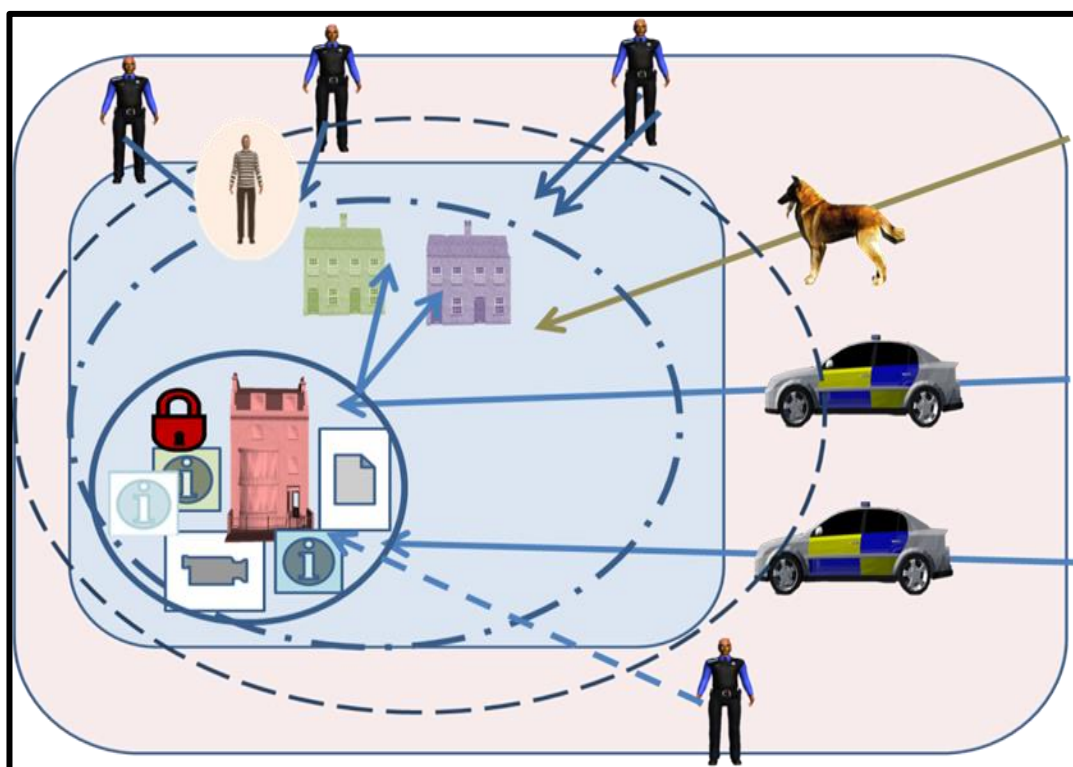
a) Managers Responses

Like the other sample responses in the Front Line Officer category the initial plotting exercise for the Manager category (as exemplified by **Figure 14**), was followed by the development of more structured secondary maps which were finally brought together as a consolidation of the group response.

All six managers questioned, stated that this was a crime in progress to which they would expect to be called out to investigate by the public. The scenario was consequently interpreted as a grade 1 or emergency call which they expected

their officers to attend immediately; taking between five and fifteen minutes (maximum) to arrive at the caller's location. In a similar response to those formerly identified by front line officers the role of the Call Handler was not fully appreciated by senior managers as the consolidation map suggests.

Figure 8.17: Consolidated Response- Police Managers Scenario 1



When the data from the maps was consolidated, there were a number of differences identified between the expectations of the managers of their staff's actions within the scenario. Within the sample they reflected the themes of; general police procedure, victim support, investigation and arrest, crime reduction and finally police conduct.

There appeared to be a number of different opinions, for example, about the amount of resources necessary to support the incident; the use of emergency response vehicles, the deployment of police dogs and the use (as evidence), of CCTV images were amongst additional resources identified. Four managers noted the need to approach the potential crime scene silently, and undertake house to house visits to gain additional information whilst three identified the necessity to preserve the crime scene to protect forensic evidence. The need to take statements and/or make crime reports about the incident was noted by two managers who additionally highlighted the need for officers to provide crime prevention advice to victims. The general demeanour and conduct of officers in attendance was emphasised in different ways by the respondents who stated that officers should be professional and polite, leave their contact details and provide the public with reassurance. The possible support to victims by other agencies was not noted by this group of respondents.

One manager noted that PCSOs should not be involved in a scenario such as the one represented in Scenario 1.

8. 19 What the Public Expect.

a) Public Response

All twenty of the research subjects comprising the public sample responded to the following question and confirmed that in this scenario they would call the police as they felt that there was a potential crime in progress within the description:

You are at home alone one evening and you hear a noise as though someone is trying to break in to your home - You put on the main lights and the noise stops but on investigation you find that someone has tried to force entry to your back door.

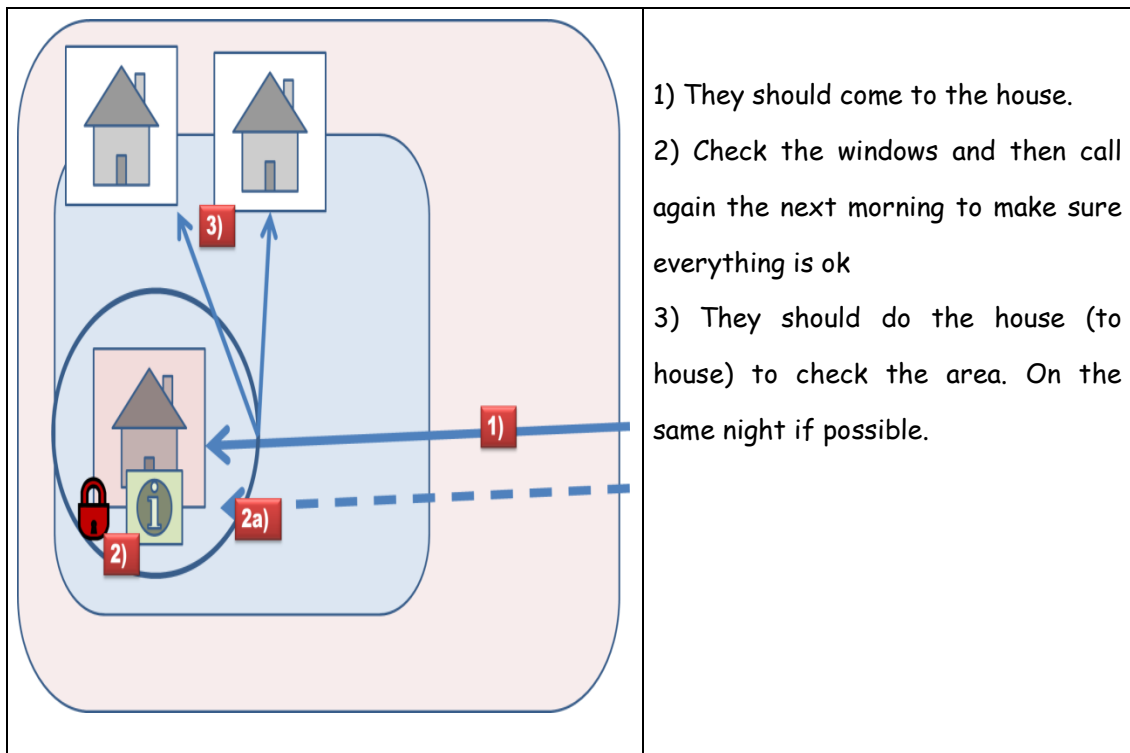
Under this situation

a) Would you contact the police?

b) What would expect them to do?

An exemplar of the type of response from the public sample in the first stage of the mapping process is identified /described within the following table.

Figure 8.18: An example of Stage 1 Mapping Exercise Scenario 1 Public Sample 1



Like the maps reviewed previously, the consolidation map of public responses to this scenario suggests that in order to meet public expectations a number of additional processes may be required.

In addition to an overall expectation by the public that the police would attend (or at the very least make contact), there was a general consensus within the sample expectations, of a police response to the attempted burglary which ranged from contact within twenty four hours to an immediate response (expected by five subjects).

Rather surprisingly the language used by the public in their response to this scenario suggested that the majority of the public sample appeared overall to

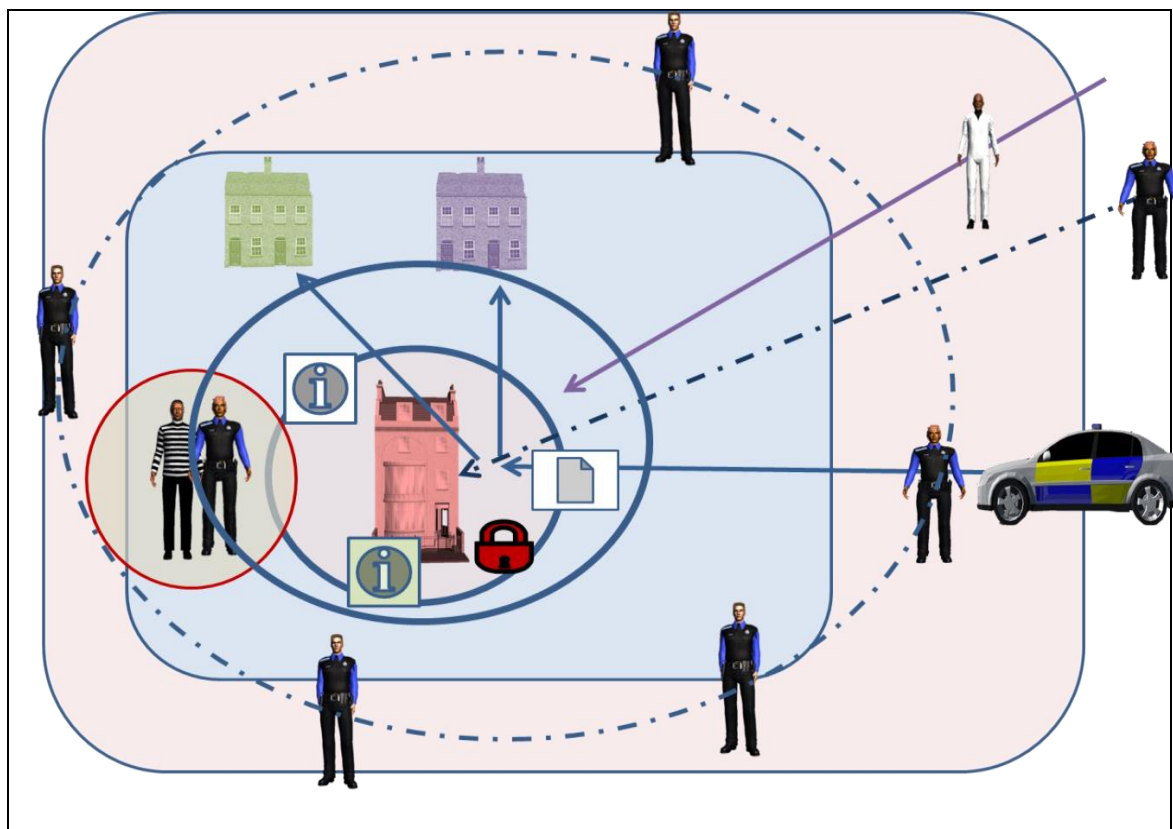
expect less than the management sample of the police appeared to want to provide in relation to police resources.

The main focus of the public response was that the police would provide them with a sense of security (seven respondents) and or safety (six respondents). This might be achieved by giving advice, checking the area (nine respondents) undertaking door to door enquiries (two respondents), checking the security of the home address of the caller and contacting them later to ensure that they were safe (three respondents).

There appeared to be an expectation that there would be a visible police presence to deter future occurrences of this event and that the police would investigate (four respondents), ask questions and gain the fingerprints of the offender at the crime scene (two respondents).

To ensure the arrest of the offender, (which was noted by one respondent), the police would call in the Scenes of Crime Officer to gain further clues at the property (three respondents). Differences can be seen between the Control/NOS template and consolidated public response when this is overlaid on to the map of the process. It should be acknowledged however that whilst there are differences, the main ethos engendered by the template i.e. to ensure public safety is still paramount.

Figure 8.19: Consolidated Response Public Sample Scenario 1

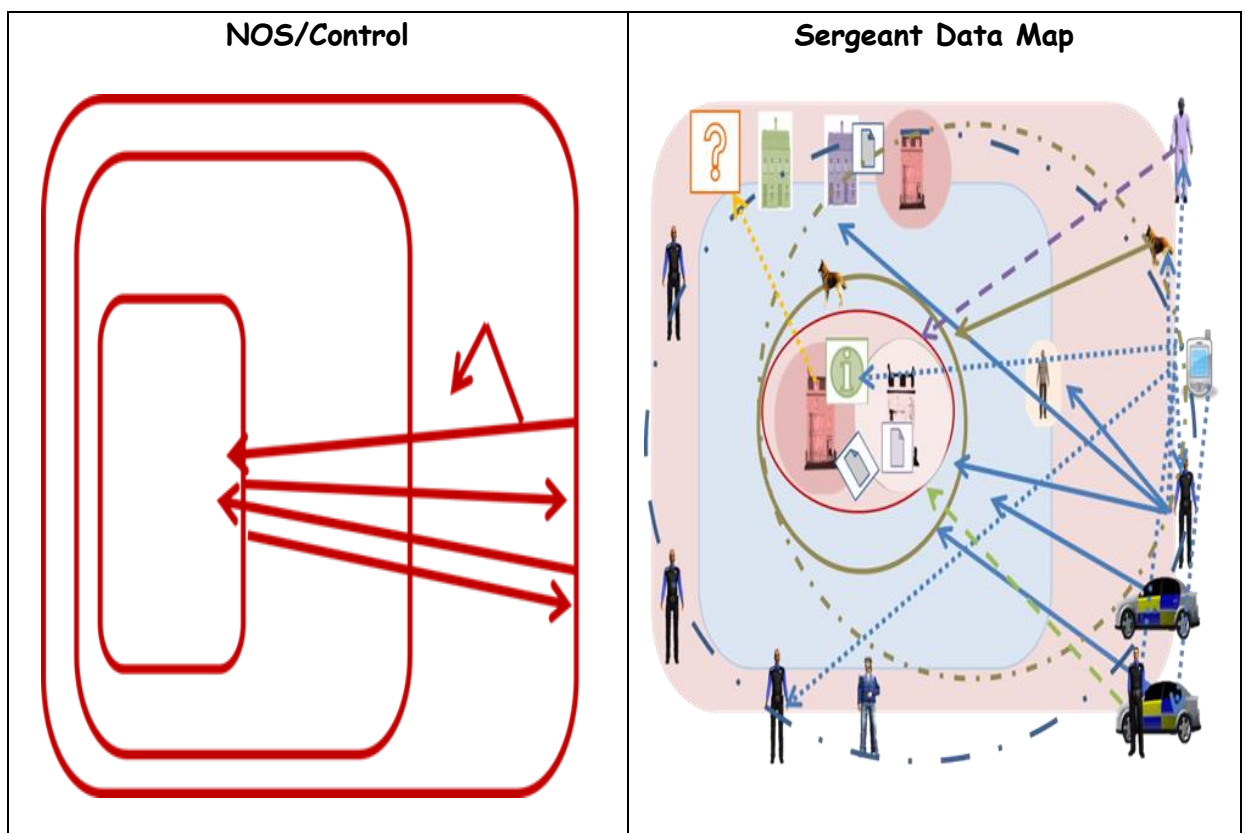


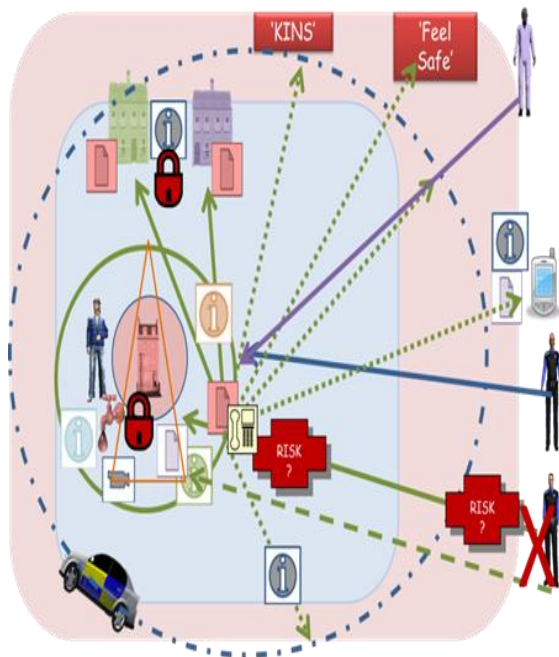
8.20 The Consolidation and Comparison of Data Scenario 1

Once the sample reports had been drafted and subsequently mapped on to the schematic, the consequent visualisation of all of the consolidation maps was compared. In total fifty-two subjects across the study groups responded to this question.

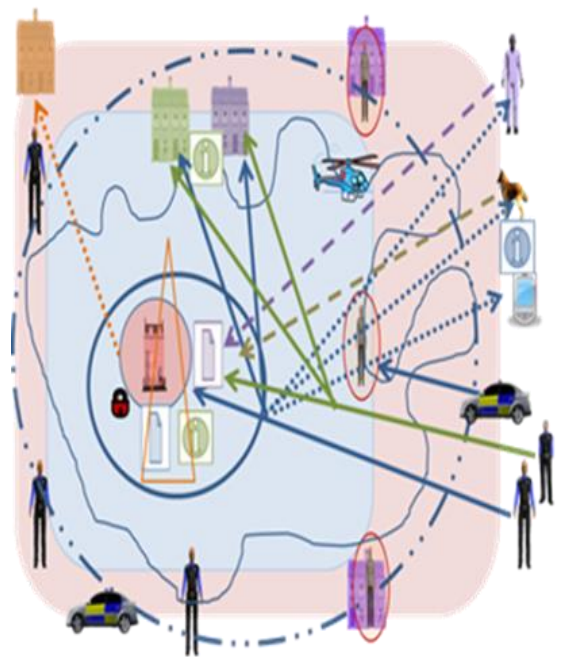
As can be seen within the following *visual table*, in review, whilst the illustrative maps of the Public and Police sample indicate that there are some similarities with the NOS/Control template, the representation of the more formal expectations of a police response, there are undoubtedly differences.

Figure 8.20: Consolidation of all data Scenario 1 Maps

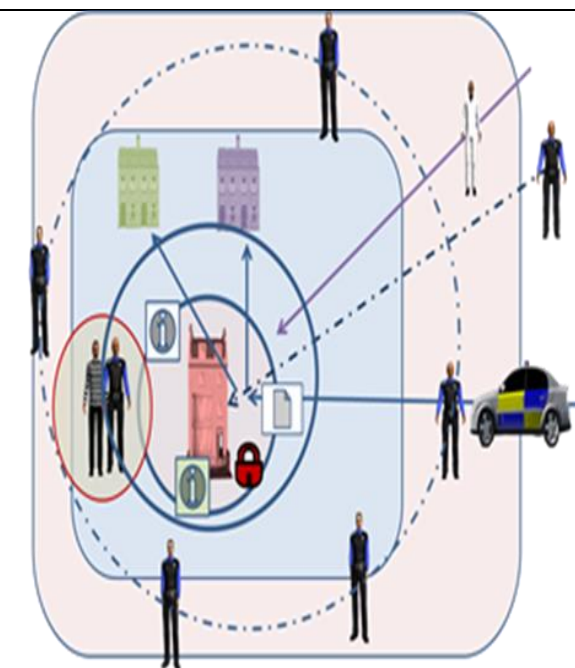




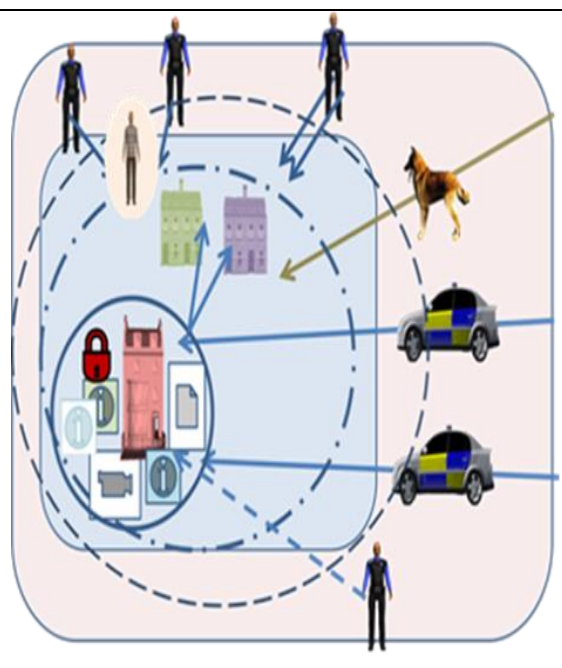
PCSO Data Map



Police Constable Data Map



Public Data Map



Managers Data Map

As might be expected the public response to scenario 1 generally indicated that they believed that under the circumstances outlined by the vignette, officers should turn up, provide security, safety and reassurance and catch a potential offender if an attempt has been made to burgle their home. The public would additionally like to be supported, if, in fact, on investigation there hasn't been an attempt. They do not wish to feel foolish or that they have wasted police time if they have reported an offence in error. The perception of what the public *might* want is mirrored in responses made by some of the police managers.

For the PCSO ranks a number of clear themes became evident within Scenario 1. Whilst they tended to focus on individual security and the need to provide public reassurance there was a similar assumption to that of their managers that the potential victim would be female. Personal safety and subsequently the need to risk assess the situation was an issue highlighted by these ranks, as this is not an offence that would necessarily be attended by PCSOs. A previous experience of having been sent to a scene, similar to that reflected in the scenario, was recalled by a couple of officers within the interview process. Overall the majority of PCSO ranks interviewed acknowledged their role as part of the support mechanisms of policing and appeared aware of both the administrative recording procedures and the partnership working procedures which might be accessed to support victims of crime. Notably the role of *Victim*

Support, a key organisation associated with this process, was not featured by any of the respondents in interview about this scenario.

The possible history of offending in the area was highlighted as having a potential significance to the actions reflected within scenario by one PCSO and Police Constable Respondent. The need to investigate the possible offence was more dramatically interpreted by the Police Constables who not only highlighted the need for search dogs and helicopters but the utilisation of other technologies such as forensic science as part of the investigation response to the scenario. The community impact of stops and checks - stops and searches and the targeting of known offenders was not however considered.

Unusually only the Sergeant and PCSO ranks discussed the partnership of the PCSO and Police Constable in attending to this incident. Police managers either did not highlight the potential deployment of PCSOs or stated that they should not attend.

8. 22 Scenario 2 Street Robbery

Having reviewed in some detail the development of methodological stages of the mapping exercises in the previous section, the discussions that follow within this section will provide a more specific focus on the materials subsequently developed /generated as a result of the methods formerly described¹²⁹. All groups were given the following scenario, which was based upon the crime of robbery, upon which they were asked to reflect and subsequently respond. The scenario was, as previously observed specifically tailored to reflect the function of each group. The public group were asked therefore to reflect from a victim/public perspective; the police managers were asked what their officers would do if they were called upon to respond to the incident and the front line officers were asked to explain what actions they might take if they were dispatched or required to attend to an incident like the one represented.

I gave a member of the public the following scenario:

You are walking home after an evening out and someone runs up to you; push's you against a wall and demands that you give them your purse /wallet. This you reluctantly do as you fear their possible response if you do not.

I then asked them under this situation












































a) Would you contact the police?

b) What would expect them to do?

¹²⁹ A detailed examination and map of each response is nevertheless to be found in the accompanying disk presentation of the data

To accommodate the identified differences which became apparent during the data analysis a key was developed which represented the potential variants within the mapping process for Scenario 2.

Figure 8.21: Key to Mapping Process Scenario 2

Victims Home Address 	House to House Investigation 	Issues such as poor lighting at crime scene 	CCTV 	Police Station 	Identity Parade/ Procedures 	Suspects description 	Victim Support 
Crime Scene Preservation/ Investigation 	Victims Clothing 	Credit Cards 	Sergeant 	Police Dog 	Control FHQ 	Language Line Interpreter 	Crown Prosecution Services 
Police Response Vehicle 	Ambulance 	Police Helicopter 	Personal Security/ Safety 	Diaries Appointment 	Information about Offence 	Information for Victim 	Contact Information 
Court Process 	Doctor/GP 	Male Victim 	Female Victim 	Next of Kin 	Witness 	SOCO 	CID 
Police Officer 	PCSO 	Suspect 	Statement/ Crime Form 	Drink 	Risk 	Reassurance 	Unknown Response 
Communication 	Patrol/ Search 	Immediate Action 	Delayed or Secondary Action 	Alternative Action Focus 	Potential Basins of Attraction 	Location of Offender 	Crime Reports 

8. 23 Consolidation of Sergeant Responses to Scenario 2

Responses from the Sergeant group about this area of policing looked at the incident from a number of different perspectives. This not only included the response to the initial offence outlined by the scenario, but they also considered the needs and appropriate support of the victim. The dual nature of the victim/witness (noted by Rock 1991:278 '*as an admixture of pariah and saint*') was further reflected in their responses as they not only contemplated victim care as a result of the attack but also the possibility of different victim's needs, dependant on the circumstances of the incident. The consequences of the victim's report to the police in relation to the identification of the offender, any arrest, charging and agreement to prosecute by the Crown Prosecution Service and the potential court case was also mentioned by one officer.

The Sergeant's narratives associated with the perceived actions associated with the robbery scenario included the potential for, or reflected, engagement with a highly complex system. This followed the crime through to investigation and prosecution and noted the use of dogs, suspect identification procedures and the use of forensic evidence. There was again an assumption that the victim would be female;

*'I'd speak to the **woman** who has been hurt or robbed and get version of events and a description of the suspect'. (Sgt2)*

The mapping exercises related to both Scenarios 1 and 2 similarly evidence a number of areas of potential *attraction* which draws activity away from the core endeavour represented, (the crime victim), and pools a number of alternative responses which are related to the central nucleus of the event but are not solely focussed on dealing with it.

'We should establish what property has been taken - use intelligence or trace work in relation to that. We need to ensure medical care for victim - if it is required.

As part of the investigation there may be identification procedures that we need to start. We will provide regular updates for victim. We will undertake the interviewing of suspects and liaison with CPS recharges and evidence gained. We need to note disposal decisions and possible court cases as this has possible implications for the victim as does the potential sentences for the offender'

(Sgt2)

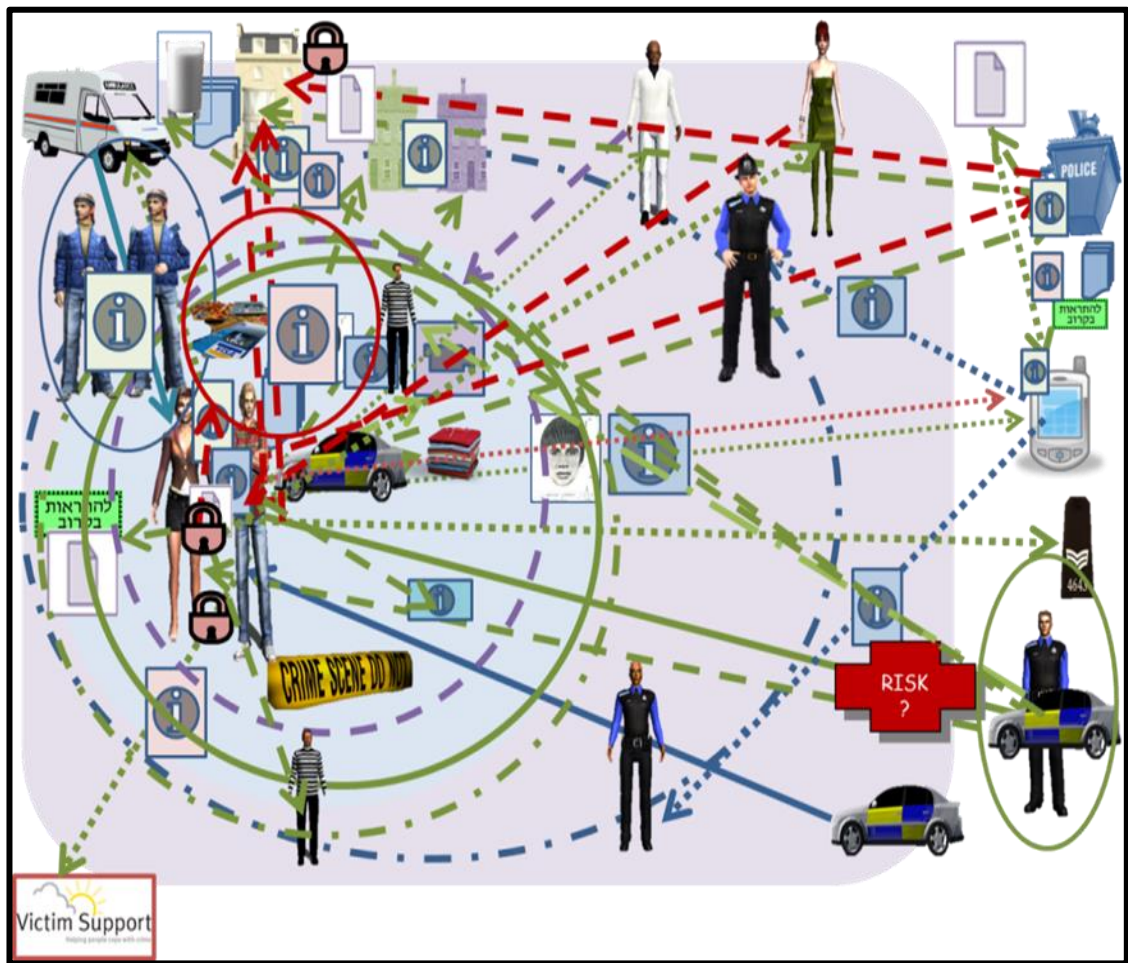
Levin (1998) proposes a series of elements which can be identified within the mapped processes within this research that may be representative of characteristics within complex adaptive systems (CAS). Xepapadeas (2009) suggests that CAS are; *'dynamic nonlinear systems, evolving in time and space, which self-organize from local interactions and are characterized by historical dependencies, complex dynamics, thresholds and multiple basins of attraction*

8. 24 The PCSO Response Scenario 2

The twelve PCSOs interviewed about this scenario reflected levels of knowledge and an appreciation of an offence with which their role, as its intended focus should be on ASB matters, is not usually associated.

Officers generally acknowledged that a robbery, as a serious offence, was one with which a Police Officer should be dealing. PCSOs identified the need to preserve the scene of the crime but to principally protect and support the victim of the offence. They consequently highlighted their role in gathering intelligence and noted the need to risk assess the potential activities associated with the investigation of this offence to which they might become involved. Two PCSOs particularly impressed the researcher with their detailed knowledge about the procedures involved in dealing with a serious crime such as robbery. One talked through the actions as though he would be dealing with it whilst the other spoke as an outsider to the incident describing the actions of the police. There was an acknowledgement of diversity and vulnerability, suggested by activities involving language line and victim support, and the need to respond to what the victim needed rather than focus on the offence and the offender. Their role as a conduit for police process was also apparent as officers noted that they would be doing the 'leg work' to enable Police Constables to take over the main investigation.

Figure 8.23: Consolidated Response PCSO Sample Scenario 2



Like the responses of the Police Sergeants to this vignette there was an appreciation of multi-agency working with paramedic or other health specialists in order to provide particular support to victims. Communication with managers for guidance was also identified as being important as this was an incident which PCSOs felt should not be allocated to them. Whilst the PCSOs interviewed appreciated that they did not hold the necessary police powers to be fully involved

with the incident they appeared to see themselves as key to intelligence retrieval and victim support.

One officer (**PCSO 5**) suggested that;

'If the suspect was still there I could monitor them from a distance and contact control in order to update and ensure officers call (attend). If I was in a car I could follow them. If the person has left the crime scene I'd get a description of the suspect and I'd put it on the air with information about the direction of travel - I'd reassure the victim and provide practical help I'd see if there was evidence linked to the suspect and see if there were any other witnesses or bystanders '

Alternative centres of attraction were particularly highlighted by this group of subjects as they noted that resources might be grouped to supporting both the victim and finding the offender.

Like the narratives generated by officers from the rank of Sergeant, it should be noted that victims of this offence were mainly considered to be 'female' by PCSOs with the term victim frequently being associated with pronouns 'her' or 'she'.

They cover areas such as; Witness care and statement/evidence gathering; Victim care at the scene or at a medical centre or hospital; The victim's family and home situation (including their safety and subsequent protection of belongings such as the cancellation of credit card) and the offender's whereabouts and arrest. They also reflect necessary procedures at the police station which may be associated with the recording of the incident. Neighbourhood or locational policing issues which might arise as a consequence of the incident, and the subsequent investigation was also identified as a focus of activity more specifically by this group.

Again the mapping process highlighted a different set of approaches which were identified by the officers interviewed for this scenario. Prior to consolidation individual constables maps indicated that some officers were victim focussed whilst others, accepting that they still had a responsibility towards the victim, focussed their attention on a more investigatory role.

'Yes there is violence and threats of violence used in this incident and the offender may do this to other people as well- We need to protect other people and catch the offender. I'd find out what and where the incident happened I'd gather details and any evidence - I would take statements and descriptions.

I would advise the victim how to protect themselves and give general advice such as suggesting that they cancel their credit cards - I'd give information about victim support and provide further reassurance' (PC6)

The level of urgency in relation to the response to the incident was identified as either a grade 1 or 2 response by officers, (suggesting an emergency or urgent response). PCSOs were seen as a useful resource by Constable ranks, but it was noted that they should not be deployed as an immediate response to the incident. *'PCSOs can be used afterwards as a point of contact'* (PC12)

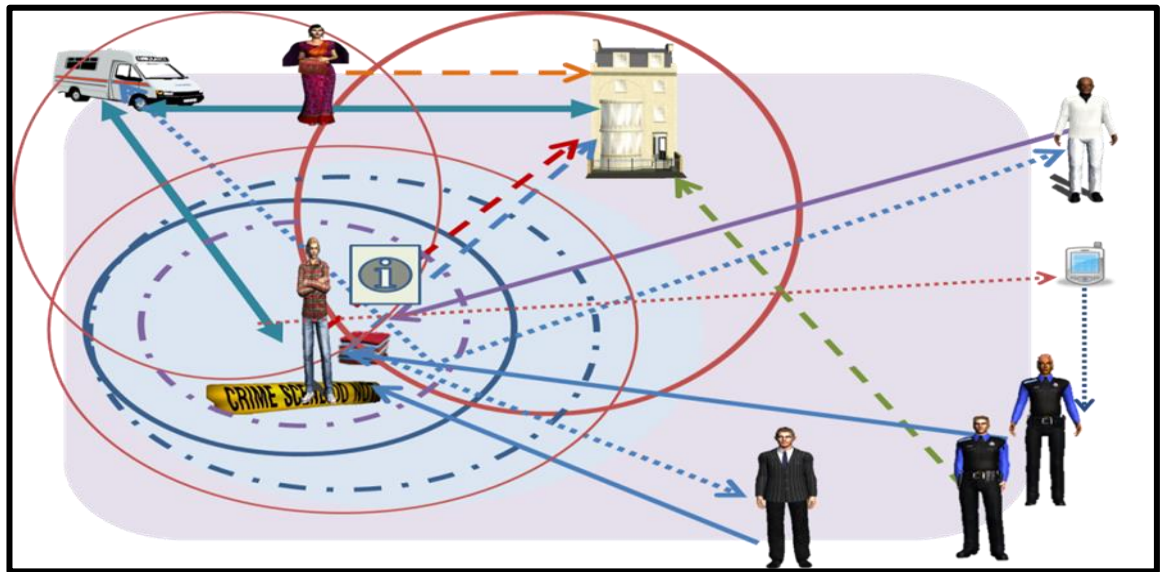
8. 26 The Police Manager Response to Scenario 2

Because of the scheme of random selection of scenarios adopted by the researcher for the police groups only two out of the six police managers interviewed for this research responded to this scenario. One of the managers interviewed initially perceived that this vignette represented a robbery associated with the dealing of drugs.

'Is it drugs related? -A possible street robbery may be- officers should offer support but it may be drugs related - it's still an offence of robbery though. Officers may be more cynical if it's as a result of a drug debt and money is owed'
(Manager 1)

Whilst the comments that were made subsequently explored more general police responses this manager noted and reflected the potential for a cynical police approach to a victim under these circumstances.

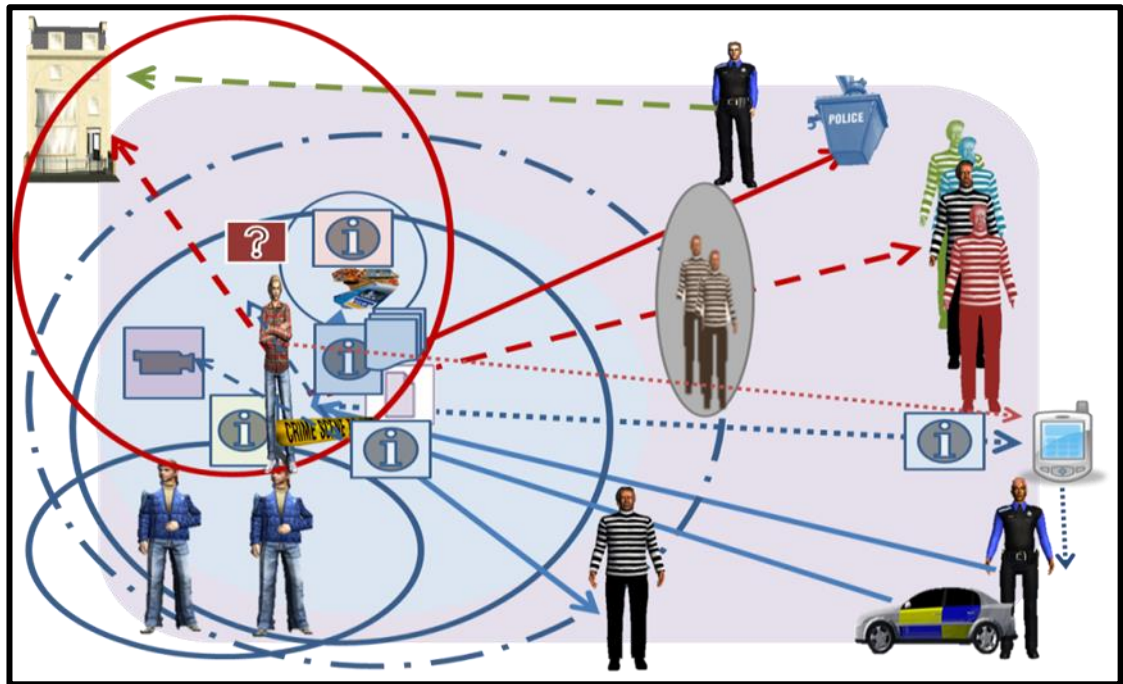
Figure 8.25: Consolidated Response Police Manager Sample Scenario 2



Police Constables with PCSO support were recognised by managers as responding to this incident, as was the work of the SOCO and CID to 'lock down the area' and gain forensic evidence to evidence the case. There was an acknowledgement by the managers that this incident should be guided by the potential needs of the victim. This meant that in addition to the scene of crime there were varying locational and temporal requirements which were recognised as important. These issues were reflected in responses from all of the research groups in this scenario. Issues relating to the victims home address or their medical treatment may additionally impact on methods employed to develop the evidential base for this offence. Thus the centre of attraction for this incident may appear simultaneously in several places and will evoke complementary areas of attraction which will be subsequently associated with the resolution of this incident.

8. 27 The Public Response to Scenario 2

Figure 8.26: Consolidated Response Public Sample Scenario 2



In this scenario the public respondents indicated that there were many possible expectations of the police. There were, for example, the practical responses of providing reassurance and victim care which included escorting them, as victims of a serious crime, home to a safe place. Advice and information about the 'blocking' of stolen credit cards was also seen as important. The public additionally provided a number of more ambivalent responses where they felt that the police could do very little or that their main role was just ask questions.

These responses additionally suggested that they, the public, expected that they would need to be proactive in their search for justice by reporting the incident at a police station and subsequently re-attending the station to identify

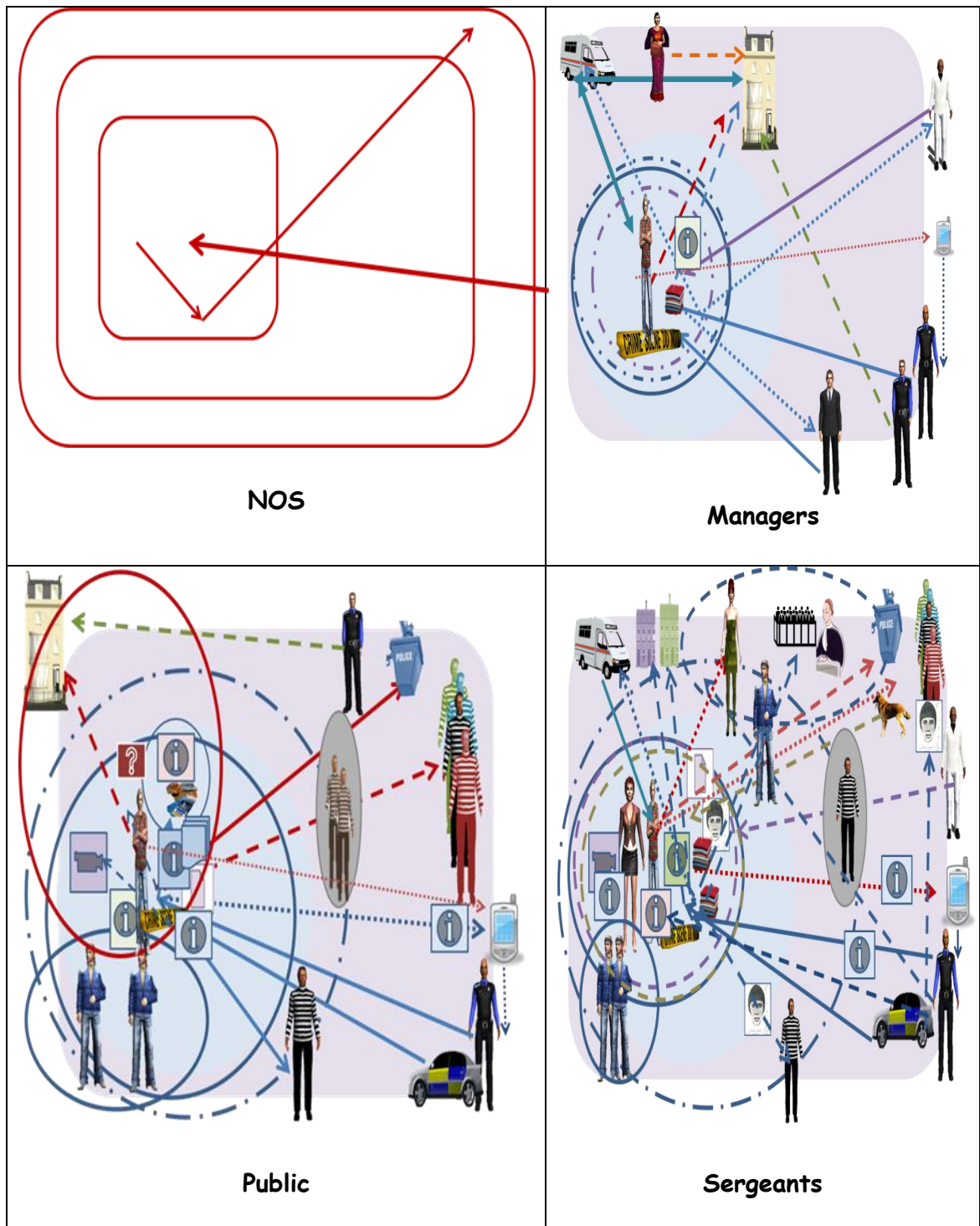
the offender in a line-up of suspects post arrest. A couple of respondents indicated that for them, it was more important for the police to find and arrest '*the bad guys*' as opposed to providing them support as victims.

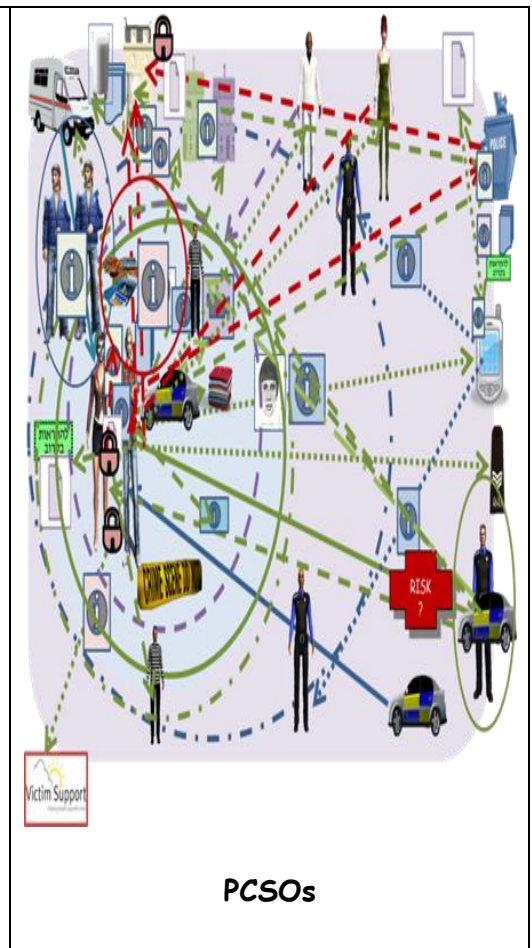
Public respondents indicated that they expected an immediacy of response from the police but they were happy for PCSOs to provide a visible presence to reassure them in the community. In spite of such compromises the main source of reassurance and support was expected from police officers, who, they feel should attend the scene, take details and check records in order not only to help them record formally that their property has been stolen, but also to further protect their assets in relation to stolen credit cards etc. Witness input in the investigation process was also noted. There was a further expectation that empathy would be shown to them and that they would be escorted from the crime scene to a place of safety- their home address. Some respondents indicated that they wanted help but could not define the exact nature of the help required at times, which was understandable, due to the dynamic nature of the possible offence and their consequent needs.

It should be noted that because of their more general availability members of the public sample were able to respond to more than three scenarios unlike the police sample who were pressured by time as a result of work commitments.

8. 28 Consolidation and Comparison of Data Scenario 2

Figure 8.27: Comparison of Group Responses Scenario 2





8. 29 *Consolidated Results*

The consolidation 'visual maps' which relate to Scenario 2 represent the potential actions or expectations of fifty respondents to the robbery scenario.

This vignette was immediately recognised by all respondents as being associated with a potentially serious incident which is reflected in the level of detail apparent in all conditions. The maps representing the actions of the front line officers but, in particular, Police Constable and PCSO provide a vision of gradual to intense complexity in order to co-ordinate a satisfactory response. In contrast, managers perceive a relatively simple process leading to a satisfactory outcome. Whilst this might be associated with the limited number of management respondents to this scenario, the more simple approaches to the representation of crime and its resolution by managers appears to be a trend within this research

Police Sergeants, Constables, and, to a lesser extent PCSOs identified within their responses aspects of need for reassurance and safety which relate to the victim, possible witness and the local community as well as identifying, perhaps for some, the more secondary characteristics of an incident which involve the investigation and prosecution of offenders. This was an area which was particularly identified by the Sergeant respondent group

In this scenario, responses from Police Managers and the Public appear to be fairly straightforward. At a surface level they appear to follow the direction

of the NOS/Control and indicate a response to the offence and a subsequent process which provides focus on the investigation procedure in order to make an arrest and provide satisfaction and resolution to the victim. Even within this relatively simple process there appears to be some level of tension apparent between the *public expectations* of participation in the criminal justice process and the police managers focus on victim care but also *the need to distance* victims from the investigation process. This research indicates that the public have high expectations of a police investigation as some appear to confidently expect that under these circumstances there will be an arrest and that they will be required to participate in an identity parade and other processes within the criminal justice system.

In contrast, the focus of police managers was on victim care in relation to any immediate health related needs as a result of the aftermath of the incident and consequently the investigation process was seen as something from which the public should be *distanced*.

'The victim needs to see the police as investigating the crime with PCSO support. If a uniform makes you feel better so be it but police should be investigators - however the public need reassurance from a visible presence'.

(Superintendent 1)

'We need to preserve scene, location and person and gather evidence, clothing from them - avoid cross contamination- Forensics.

Police officers should call scenes of crime, CID. They should lock down the scene give victim support/attend to welfare get them home. Forensics important but victims' welfare is paramount so hospital or GP involvement is important.....'

'The Police need to investigate crime the person should be left feeling happy. We have only one opportunity to get this right and first impressions are important'. (Inspector 1)

Comparison of individual scenarios show that generally a managers response in comparison to other police personnel was more simple. This was a consistent finding across manager's responses for the other scenarios.

Unusually perhaps the public sample appeared in some cases to be willing (or uncomprehending of the possible impact of this type of crime) to sacrifice their need for reassurance in order for the police to focus on the apprehension of the offender and the return of their belongings. This suggests that perhaps there is a need for greater education of the public and police staff in relation to the management of the public expectations in these sorts of incidents.

Whilst all officers acknowledged the crime scene at the heart of the scenario there was some dispute, as formerly noted, by one of the police managers as to whether the crime was a 'cover' for another underlying offence. *'It could be about drugs*' This may again provide an exemplar of the interaction of possible

cultural prejudice associated with underlying attractants in relation to certain types of crime and the impact again of what Durkheim (1982) identified as 'social time' as opposed to 'individual time'; and, as Prigogine (1997) explains; *'classical science emphasised order and stability; now, in contrast, we see fluctuations, instability, multiple choices, and limited predictability at all levels of observations'* (Prigogine 1997: 4).

Procedurally the understanding of police responsibilities identified by the PCSO subjects was good and some appeared capable of stepping over and out of the remit of their role into that of a quasi-police officer, although they were keen to explain that they had limited police powers and should not therefore over-reach their area of responsibility. The maps indicate that Police Constables, and, to a lesser extent PCSOs identify within their responses an understanding of the need for reassurance and safety which relate to care of the victim, possible witnesses and the local community as well as identifying, perhaps for some, the more secondary characteristics of an incident which involves the investigation and prosecution of offenders. The criminal justice process was highlighted in particular by the Sergeant respondents.

Both Constable and PCSO ranks highlight the need to risk assess and review their chosen response to the incident at key times in the process. Whilst Robbery is not a crime associated with the role of PCSO, these officers were happy to provide policing and victim support where needed. One PCSO commenting

that he would be happy to follow a potential suspect at a distance until a police officer arrived to 'take over'.

The association with the term *victim* with the feminine was again identified by lower ranks who referred to '*she*' when discussing possible layers of victim support including that offered by the organisation Victim Support, the key support agency within the criminal justice system and is associated with the victims code of practice.

8. 30 Scenario 3 Locked Out

This scenario was presented to the sample groups as a form of 'wild card' within the research. As the NOS/Control indicates this is not an offence nor is it an incident with which Police Officers should be called out to deal. It was therefore observed as a vignette which might extract dynamic responses which might reflect polar opposites of opinion.

All groups were given the following scenario, which was based upon an event of being locked out of doors without access to a key to return inside a home location.

I gave a member of the public the following scenario






























You leave your home to collect something from your car which is parked in your drive only to discover that you have inadvertently locked yourself out. Your house keys are shut inside your home on your kitchen table.

a) I then asked them; under this situation would you contact the police?

b) If Police officers were called out under these circumstances what would they do?

The following key was developed which reflected the variety of response to this scenario.

Figure 8.28: Key to Scenario 3 'Locked out'

Property - Home & Alternative	Vulnerable Callers	Caller	Landlord	Firearms Officer	Next of Kin & Neighbour	PCSO Police Officers
						
Communication 	Action 	Control FHQ 	Break in via door or window 	Undetermined Action Assessment of Vulnerability 	No Attendance by Officer 	
Pocket note book entry 	Locksmith 	Key 	Response Vehicle 	Risk Assessment 	Information 	
Telephone 	Door stop/ Advice for future 	Iron 	Confusing or inaccurate information 	Reassurance 	Contact Details 	
Ambulance 	Safety /Security 		Replacement Door 	RAC 		

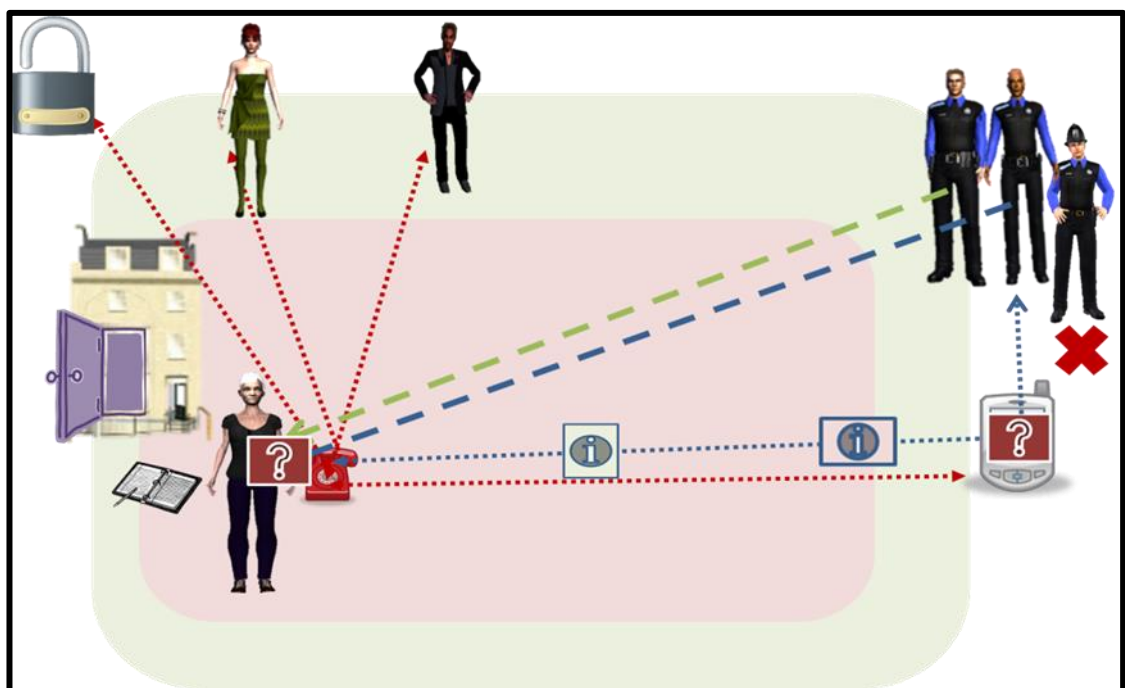
As the icons within the key already suggest there was a diverse and possibly unexpected series of responses to this scenario from members of the different groups.

8. 31 Consolidation of Responses Police Managers

Six police managers responded to this scenario. All but one of the management respondents noted that this was not a police matter and, as such, it should be diverted at the point of contact. The other highlighted the need for officers to identify vulnerability in this situation and act accordingly.

The general focus however was that vulnerability would be identified by the call handlers who would then make appropriate decisions.

Figure 8.29: Consolidation of Managers Response Scenario 3 Locked out

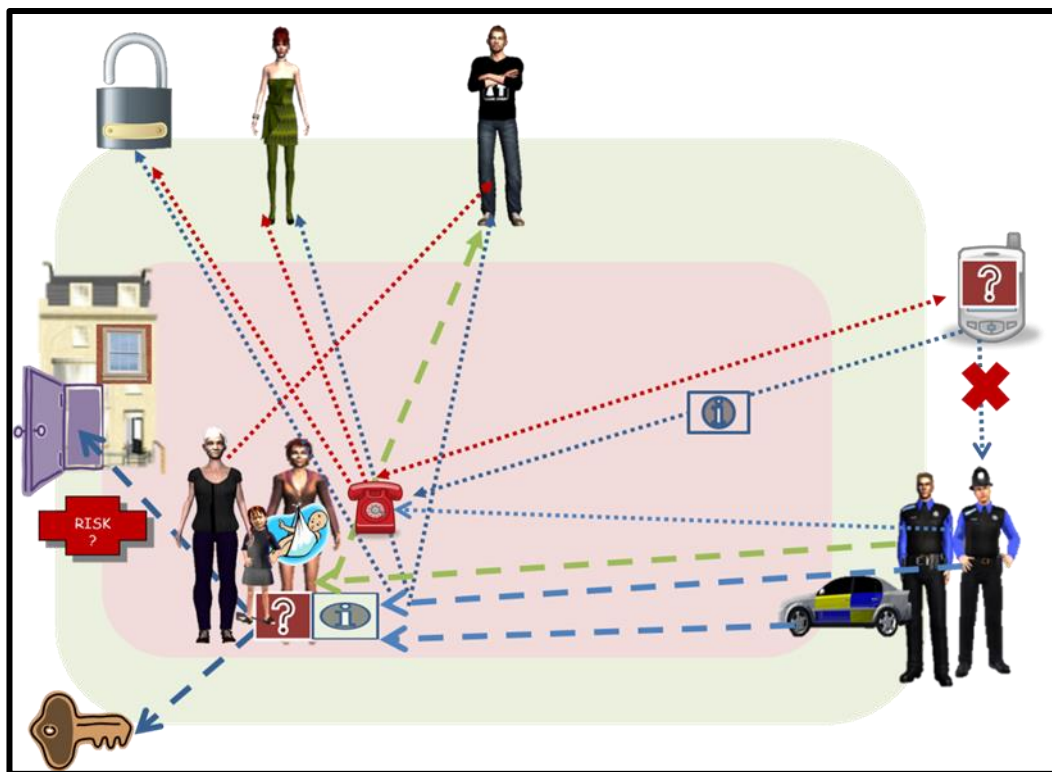


Typical of the responses from this set of subjects was the following comment;

'I would hope that this sort of call would be filtered in the control room so that we would only respond if the Caller is vulnerable -This is a delayed response not a priority if caller not vulnerable'. (Inspector 3)

8. 32 Consolidation of Sergeants Responses to Scenario 3

Figure 8.30: Consolidation of Sergeants Response Scenario3 Locked out



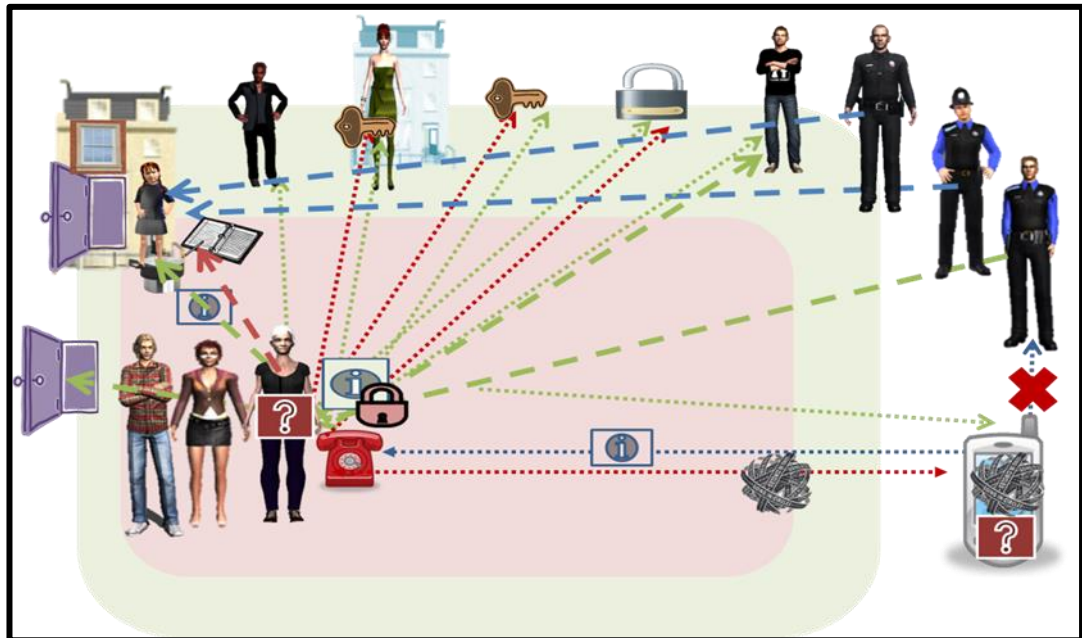
Whilst acknowledging that this was not an incident to which officers should respond, the five Sergeant respondents highlighted issues with vulnerability and the need to preserve customer satisfaction by accepting that sometimes by responding to this sort of incident the police would engage with the public in a

more positive way. The definition of vulnerability in relation to an event such as this was debated as were issues relating to forced entry of property highlighted by the respondents. A PCSO was seen as possibly the most relevant officer to attend unless levels of urgency were highlighted by the call handler.

'Depends on circumstance - if vulnerable female with young baby in middle of night for example I would want to be there quickly- this depends on information from the call handler- Call handlers should advise each call accordingly'. (Sgt 5)

8.33 Consolidation of PCSOs Responses to Scenario 3

Figure 8.31: Consolidation of PCSOs Response Scenario3 Locked out



Sixteen PCSOs responded to this vignette. In the process of responding this group generated an extensive continuum of debates around the meaning of vulnerability, the role of the police and the poor use of police systems by the public and consequent poor service in return.

The broad spectrum of responses highlighted by PCSOs indicates generally the resourceful nature of the character of the rank but also the perception that even within this straightforward event, for some officers there was a feeling of helplessness and a lack of personal responsibility.

At the other extreme there was an alternative belief that not only would officers' break in to property to support vulnerable members of the public but additionally take responsibility for the replacement/security of doors or windows as a result.

Whilst appreciating that this was not an incident that they should attend one officer noted issues with the control room and the misinterpretations of some calls by the call handlers which meant that unless an officer attended important caller related information would be lost.

'Some call takers would spend time giving advice others would just send it through without consideration- some might even book diary appointments for next week!!!!'

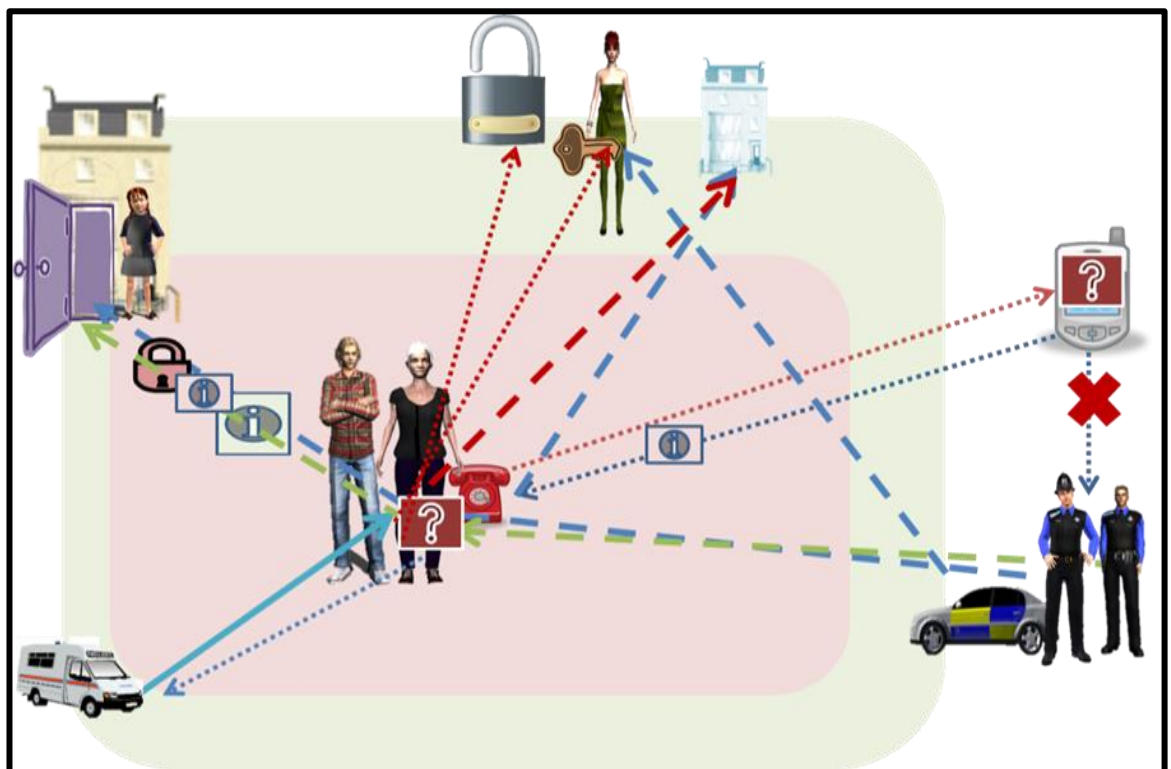
(PCSO 5)

This included an appreciation of vulnerability for example which would need to be supported in an event such as this.

'I wouldn't want to seem patronising - but I would give advice for the future - I would be sympathetic - I would also ask about other problems in area and introduce myself as local beat officer'. (PCSO 5)

8.34 Consolidation of Police Constables Responses to Scenario 3

Figure 8.32: Consolidation of Police Constables Response Scenario 3 Locked out



Five Police Constables responded to this scenario and most officers felt that this was not the sort of event that should be attended by the police. They were however willing to attend and provide public service but would give advice about the need to use other sources for support initially in such situations in future.

'If called out I'd offer to take the person to a local address or location to provide shelter and speak to the control to gain a number of a lock smith - I've no power to force an entry. We should not be called out'. (PC 5)

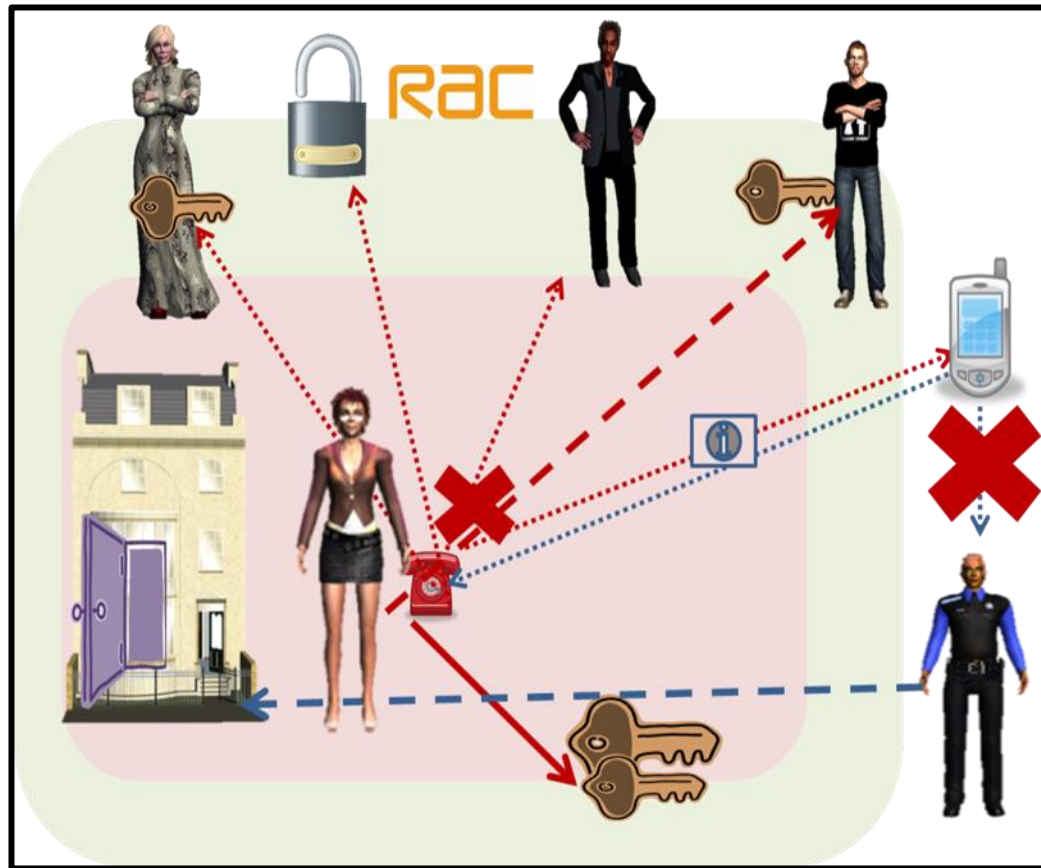
A number noted however that in the case of vulnerable adults or events where vulnerability was indicated due to children being locked in and at risk a more urgent approach should be undertaken.

The possibility that a vulnerable person might suffer ill effects necessitating medical treatment was also considered by one of the respondents

'Vulnerable people need special help. They do need an ambulance etc. in some situations - Once entry was gained Id ensure that they were left safe and happy'. (PC 4)

8.35 Consolidation of Public Responses to Scenario 3

Figure 8.33: Consolidation of Public Response Scenario3 Locked out



The majority of the twenty respondents to this vignette stated that they would not call the police out in this scenario as they do not feel that this is their responsibility.

'No it's not an emergency that would require police or criminal activity- I do not see what the police could do in that situation.' (P15)

They provided instead a series of alternative methods of accessing or gaining entry to their homes. These included calling out a locksmith, their landlord

and relatives and neighbours to give help or support. One even suggested that the RAC might be able to provide assistance.

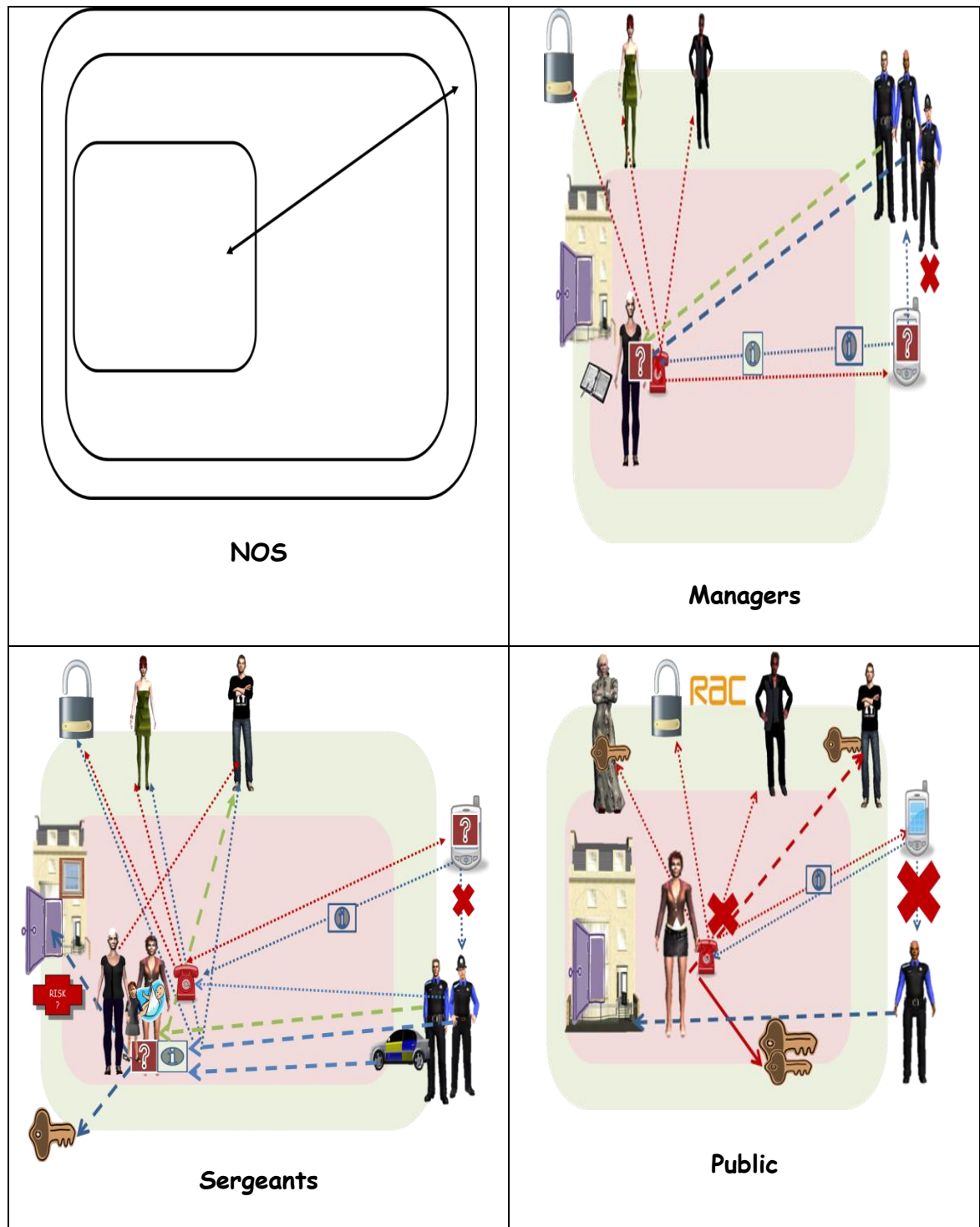
Only three members of the public sample stated that they would call the police - Two respondents confirmed that they would call them out to break in to their home, (one of whom might have been identified as vulnerable because of her advanced age), and the third stated that he would contact them to let them know that he was breaking into his own home in case they received reports of a possible crime taking place.

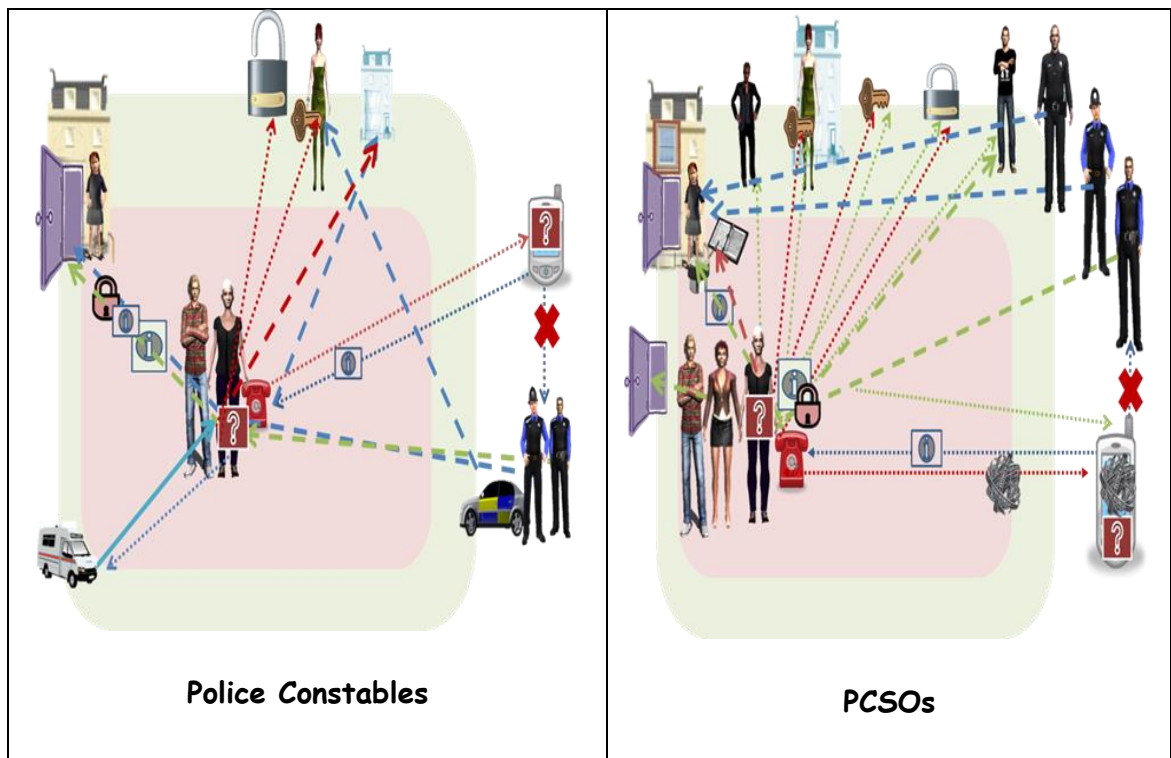
The oldest respondent, a male aged 93, stated that he would not consider calling them out because they were likely to cause too much damage to his door.

8.36 Consolidation and Comparison of Data

Scenario 3

Figure 8.34: Comparison of Group Responses Scenario 3





If a member of the public as a result of error or incident is prevented access to their own home both the public and police officers, managers and other ranks generally agreed that the police should not become involved. For this scenario however there was no straight forward answer to the dilemma, as, quite simply the recommended response to a call out of this nature, (as highlighted by the Control/NOS) would result in the non-attendance of officers (who do not have a duty to attend). A contact by the public to the police under these circumstances would/should result in their provision by police staff (usually a Call Handler), with suitable advice in order that they might appropriately resolve their problem. In such circumstances the most appropriate response would be to direct the caller towards a key holder or a lock smith. All Police groups questioned

agreed that the advice to seek out other services should occur at the 'call in' stage which would ultimately prevent public disappointment for their non-attendance. According to National Contact Management and Principles guidance this scenario comes under the banner of avoidable contact which is explained as occurring if one, or more, of the following occurs:

A. The customer is seeking unnecessary clarification

B. The contact is caused by poor signposting/transfer

C. There is repeat contact with the customer:

To provide the same information a number of times.

Because of premature closure of an earlier contact because customers are chasing progress updates.

NPIA¹³⁰(2012)

Because of the lack of police responsibility associated with this scenario the expectation was that respondents would provide responses that were focussed more on principles of discretion as opposed to any authority or legal requirement. The scenario was thus an exacting test of complexity in that whilst subjects from each category were in agreement that this was 'not the duty of the police', there was evidence that, when the responses were consolidated, the

¹³⁰ From National Contact Management Principles and Practice
http://www.npiadocuments.co.uk/ACPO_National_Contact_Management_Principles_and_Practice_2012.pdf

differences from each group meant that; a) officers would attend and b) certain members of the public would require /expect their attendance.

Issues of vulnerability as a consequence became key to the justification of this level of public support by police staff. As the scenario maps from each groups indicate, the level of 'response' support provided by the police staff/officers appeared to become more convoluted lower down in the ranks system - the PCSO group proposing a number of innovative routes in order to provide support and a resolution to the problem, ultimately providing a service far above the expectations of either the public or their managers. This suggests the idea that the nearer to the problem an officer becomes that there may be a requirement for a novel response. Where PCSOs explained their justification for attendance they also indicated that as they had limited powers they would be prepared to use police officers as *tools* to secure a resolution of the problem noting that police officers might under certain circumstances break into property. This understanding was repeated in responses to other scenarios by PCSOs. This appears to support the contention of Collinson et al (2011) that; '*A common result of increased external complexity is increased internal complexity in organisations, whether by design or circumstance.*'

8.37 The results of Scenarios 4-7

Having already reflected the procedures involved within the research and mapping process the remainder of the scenarios, Scenarios 4-7, are presented as consolidated comparator maps with their associated key and discussion.

Please note that larger maps which represent the consolidation of data are available in Appendix 12.

8.38 Consolidation and Comparison of Data Scenario 4: Domestic Violence.

The next section represents the mapped response to Scenario 4 Domestic Violence.

The question which was asked to the research participants is as follows:

I gave a member of the public the following scenario:

You hear a noise for your neighbour's home. It seems that they are having a violent argument and in fact you hear a scream.

*You are worried about their safety. I then asked them under this situation
Would you contact the police?*

Do you think that the public should call the police?

If the police were called out under these circumstances what should they do?

The Key for Scenario 4 reflects the themes and actions identified by all respondents to this scenario. It should be noted that the key which represents the male/female victim also reflects that of a potential offender. Whilst this uncertainty reflects the type of offence and those potentially involved none of the respondents' highlighted issues of possible cultural or sexual difference as part of a relationship dynamic.

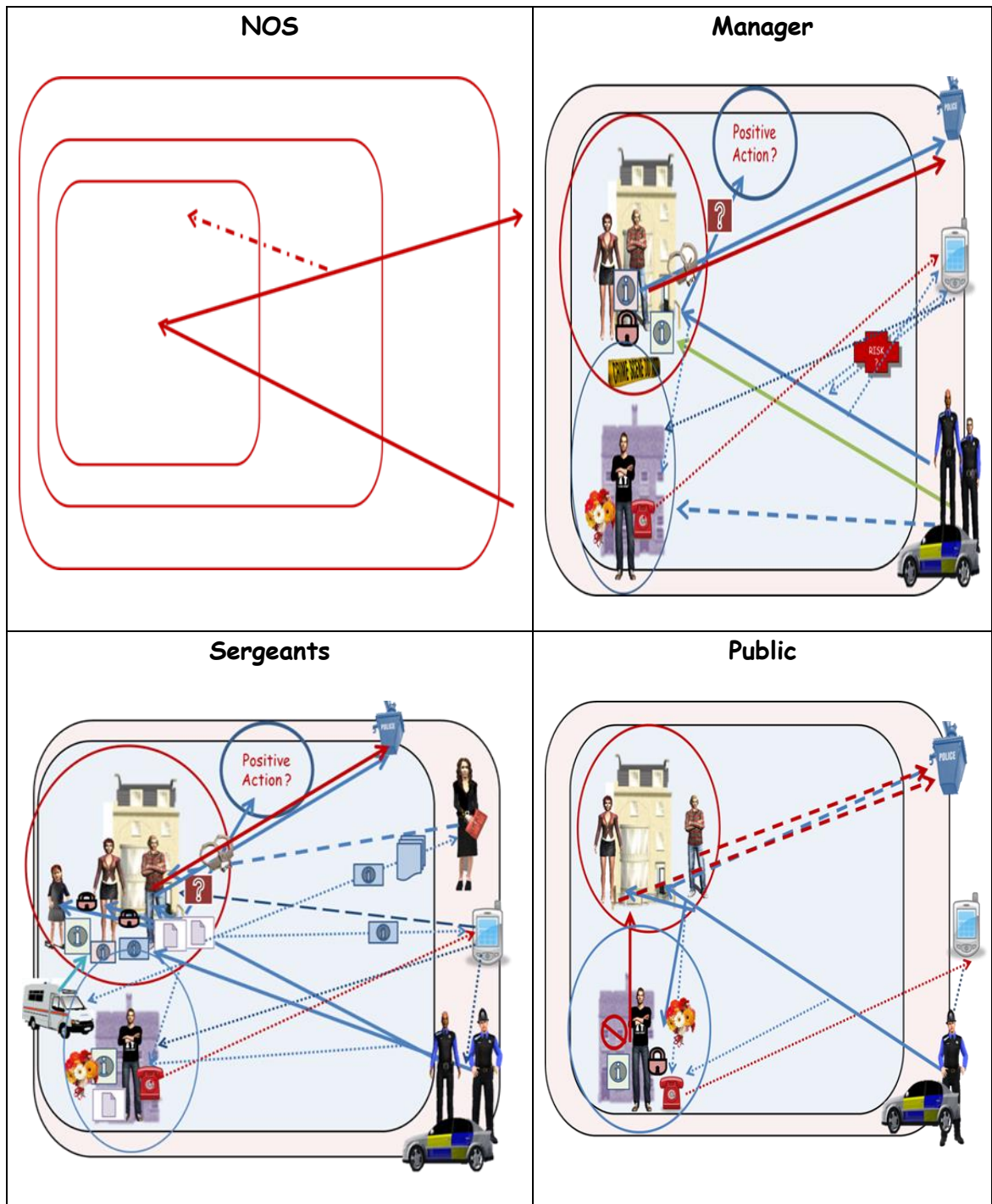
There is additionally a signifier which identifies that officers would thank the caller for their information. In cases such as this officers highlighted that they were aware of the reluctance of members of the public to become involved with their neighbours family-based concerns.

The need to take 'Positive Action' is also represented within the key although in a real incident this might become manifest in a number of different ways. This is an aspect of policing which has been criticised by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC 2014) as this report suggests that many officers do not understand what this means in practice.

Figure 8.35 Key: Scenario 4: Domestic Violence

Communication 	Caller 	Place of Safety 	Next of Kin 	Action 	Child Victim 	Male/Female Victim/ Suspect
Police Officer 	Domestic Violence Unit 	PCSO 	Security Reassurance 	Police Station Arrest 	Case file Statement 	Positive Action
Unknown Action 	Crime Information 	Contact information Crime Scene 	Control Centre FHQ 	Court Process 	Risk Assessment 	Ambulance
Victim Support 	Rapid Response Vehicle 	Thank you 	Women's Aid 	Public: No contact with Police 	Officer Not Attending 	Anger Management course

Figure 8.36: Comparison and Consolidation of Group Responses
Scenario 4 Domestic Violence



not wish to become involved by initiating contact with the police; in contrast, a couple stated that they would personally intercede in the first instance to ensure that all was well.

The maps for representatives of the police service of the rank of Manager, Police Constable and PCSO, identified the potential for risk to personal or public safety in these circumstances. Somewhat surprisingly perhaps, the Sergeant ranks did not appear to have considered elements of risk, but explored their reasons for the required actions with clarity.

The potential for arrest of individuals involved at the scene was noted by all police respondents with Police Constables identifying the next stage of the procedure as the courts process. Unusually, all but constable ranks noted the need to provide an update of their actions to the caller and thank them for their report.

The scenario maps generally suggest respondents focussed on police procedure to resolve the problem in this situation however innovative practice was identified in the proposals by PCSOs and Police Constables to utilise the services of external agencies to support the victims of this potential offence.

8.39 Consolidation and Comparison of Data Scenario 5: Common Assault

The next section represents the mapped response to Scenario 5.

The question which was asked to the research participants is as follows:

I gave a member of the public the following scenario:

You are driving home one evening from work along a quiet road and you see a young woman being hit by a group of other young females.

I then asked them under this situation

Would you contact the police?

Do you think that the public should call the police?

If police officers were called out under these circumstances what should they do?

The Key for Scenario 4 reflects the themes and actions identified by all respondents to this scenario.

Officers specifically identified within elements of the key, actions which might be undertaken at the scene as an immediate response, but also noted that the passage of time might impact on events meaning that alternative procedures might need to be put in place.

Figure 8.37: Key to Scenario 5 Common Assault





























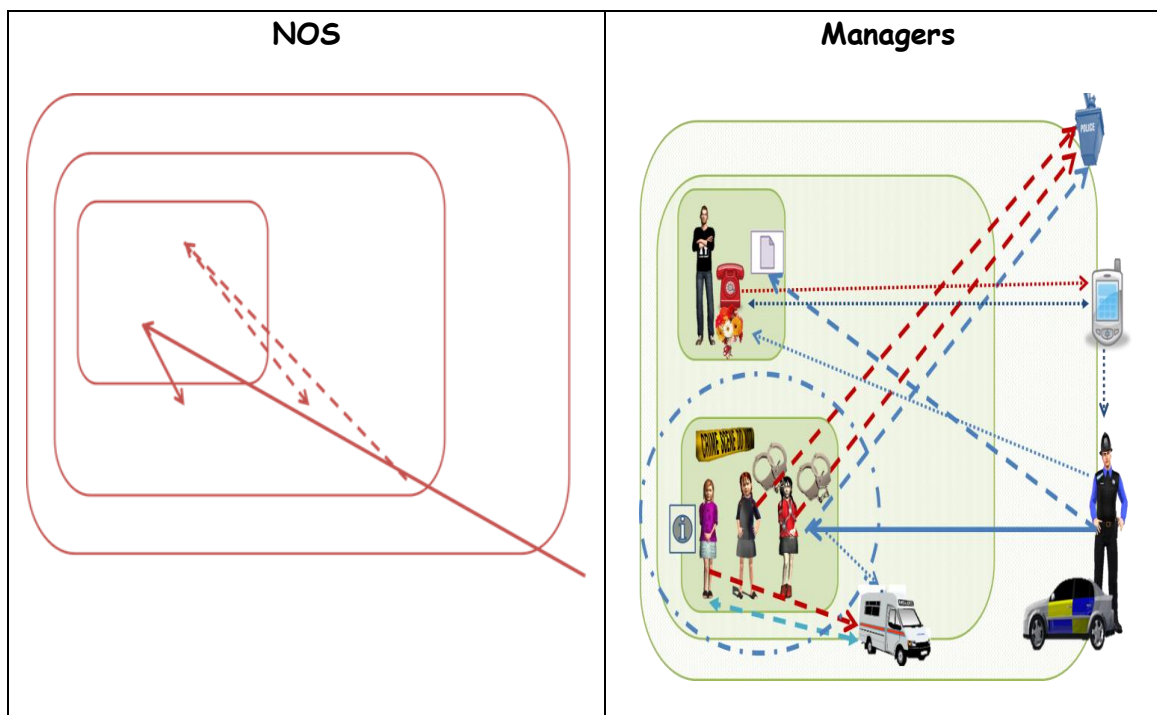
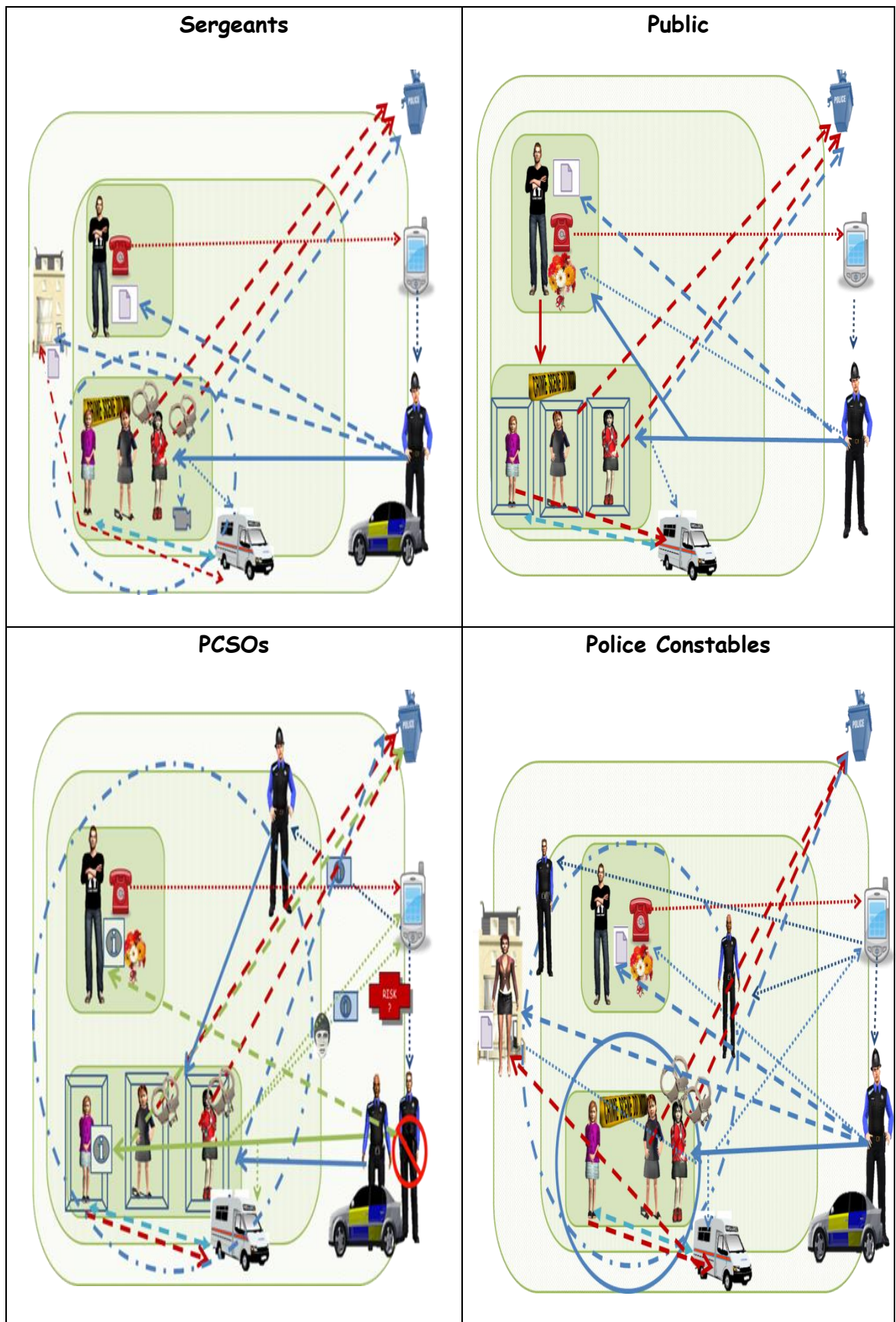
Caller 	Victim 	Suspect 1 	Suspect 2 	Police Officers 	PCSO 	Control FHQ 
Thanks 	Crime Scene 	Statement 	Medical Help 	Police station 	Arrest 	Action PCSO 
Rapid response 	Phone call 	CCTV images 	Circulate description 	Home Address with NOK 	Risk assessment 	Action PC 
Reassurance 	Information about offence 	Not attend 	Separate and secure 	Communication 	Action Public 	Patrol 

Figure 8.38: Scenario 5 Common Assault





The actions required of the police respondents within this scenario appear again to be straightforward and may be immediately associated with their national decision making model of: take action, review, gather information and intelligence, assess threats and risk, consider powers and policy and finally identify options and contingencies. Like other aspects of the research this procedure is associated with the Statement of Mission and Values for the Police Service (ACPO, July 2011) and the principles associated with the 5 building blocks of criminal investigation: the preservation of life, the preservation of the scene, secure evidence identify the victim and identify suspects. This practically involves the medical support of the victim, the arrest of offenders and the witness statement of events which would be taken from the caller.

The responses by Managers, and, to a lesser extent the Sergeant role, provides a clear association with the NOS and the principles formerly noted.

'An assault has taken place and needs investigating'. (Insp1)

Sergeant and Constable Ranks however more clearly identify the post incident requirements of the victim and the potential sensitive investigation procedure.

'Try and speak to victim ensure ok and that any medical attention given

Have officers there who can arrest perpetrators and obtain statements etc Interview her when she is ok - ensure welfare and safety- depending on seriousness of assault scene preservation but evidence gathering'. (Sgt2).

The Public and PCSO groups appear to review actions at the event with a more critical eye in relation to their identification of the need to deal independently with issues relating to offender and victim as opposed to considering the incident as a whole. This contrasts with the more cohesive approach suggested by Managers, Sergeants and Police Constables.

8.40 Consolidation and Comparison of Data Scenario 6: 'Community' Anti-Social Behaviour

The next section represents the mapped response to Scenario 6 Anti-Social Behaviour.

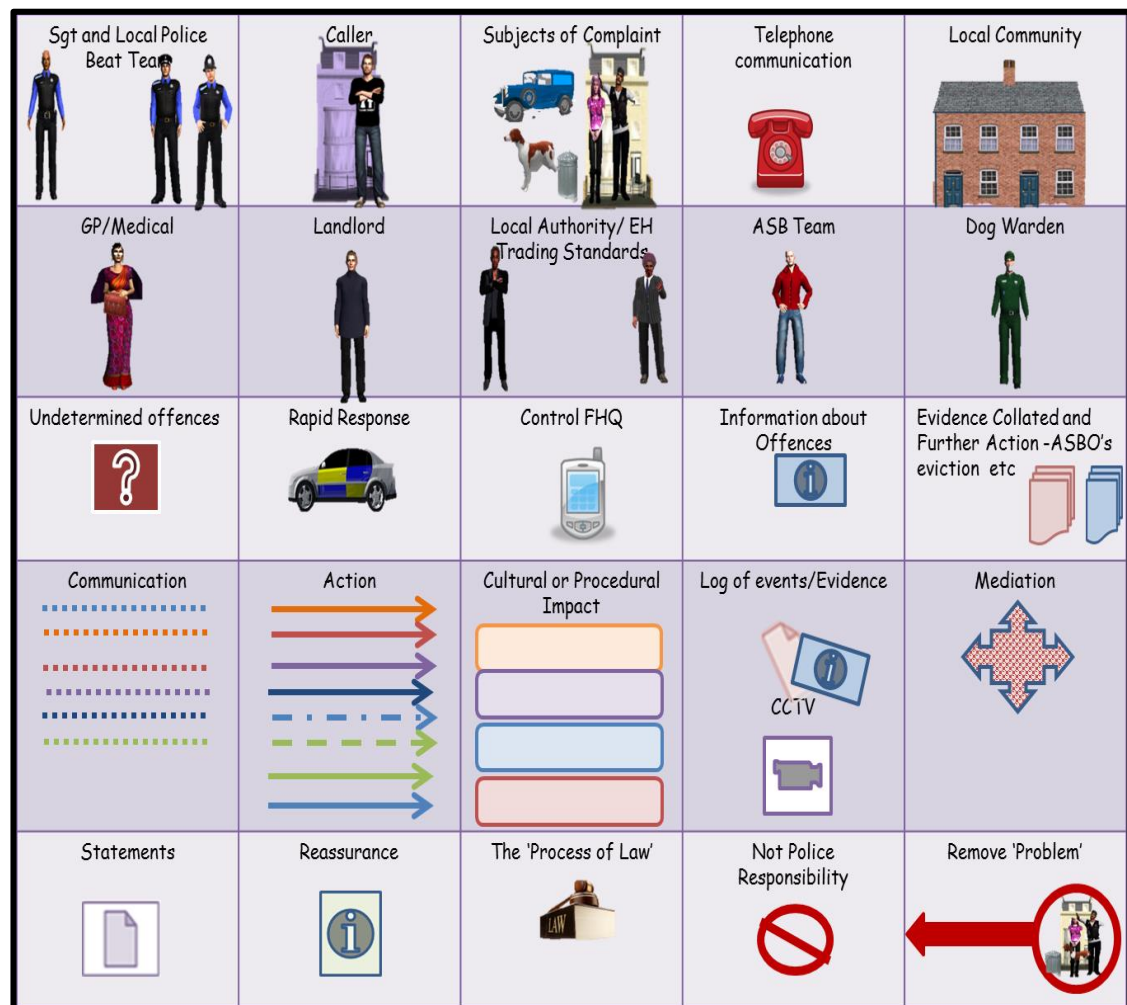
The question which was asked to the research participants is as follows:

You live in a street within a diverse community which until recently has been a quiet and settled. A new family however have recently moved in to the neighbourhood and have caused general disturbance. They have loud parties during the weekend and generally do not appear to have concerns about any impact that it might be having on their neighbours. They additionally have little regard for their environment as they have parked a broken car on their driveway and litter from their open dustbins generally scatters around the neighbourhood covering your drive. They also have a dog which they house in their back yard which barks and howls most nights.

If Police officers were called out under these circumstances what should they do?

As the following key indicates, respondents in all groups provided a number of possible resolutions and potential actions as a result of the scenario.

Figure 8.39: Key to Scenario 6 Community ASB



In addition to the primary influences noted within the maps already reviewed, the final two series of consolidated maps (comprising twelve maps in total), which represent Scenario 6 and 7 also highlight 'attractants' associated with the 'pulls' of different organisational cultures, values and procedures.

Like the *attractants* which may affect police behaviours caused by shadow systems (organisational cultures and perceptions about an offence or its location and history), similar attractants may impact on all organisations and the individuals

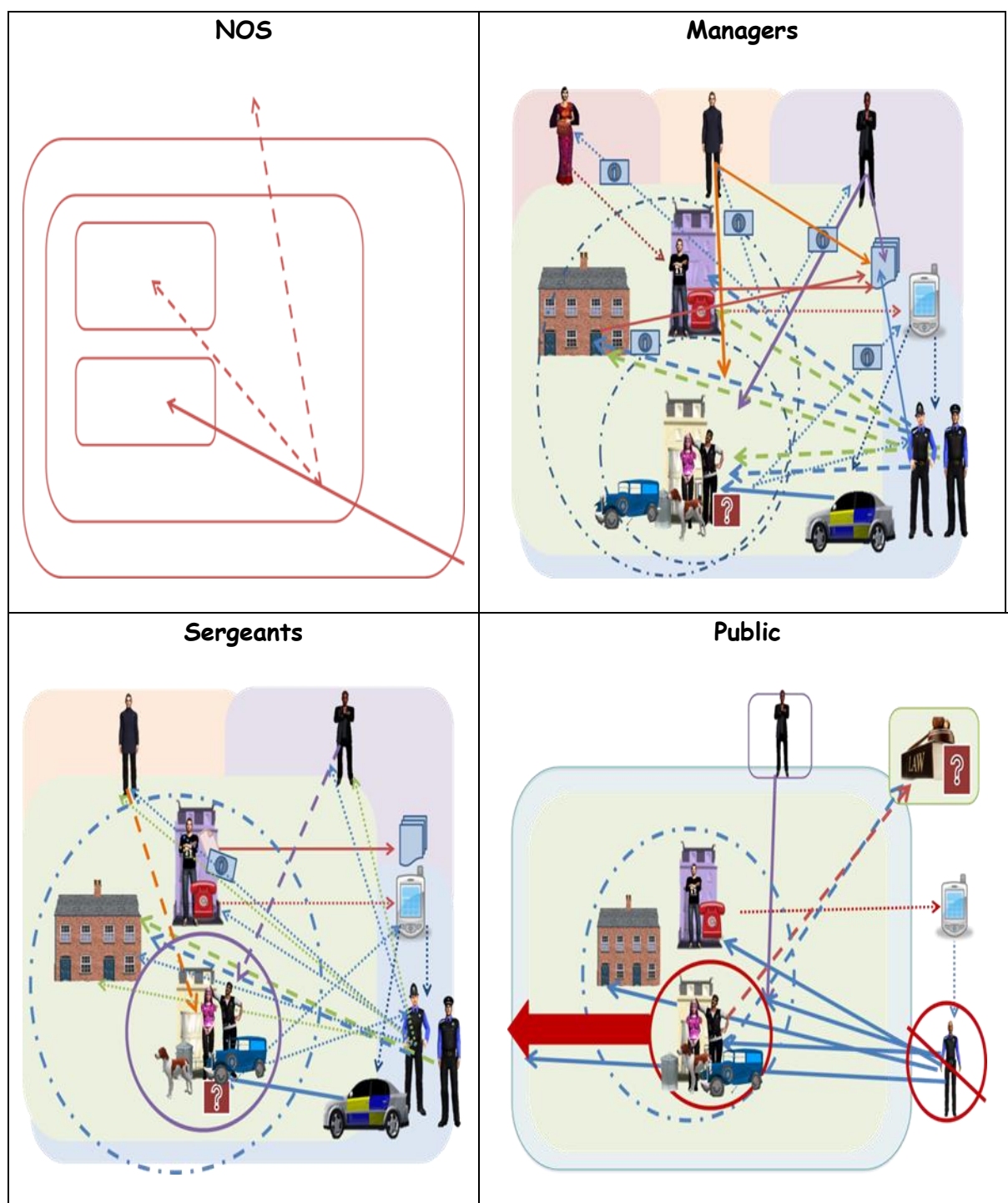
who are employed by them. These may also impact on the approaches and level of engagement of these organisations in particular when required to work with the police to resolve a 'wicked' problem. These have been identified within each map by the multi coloured backgrounds upon which the central attractants are situated.

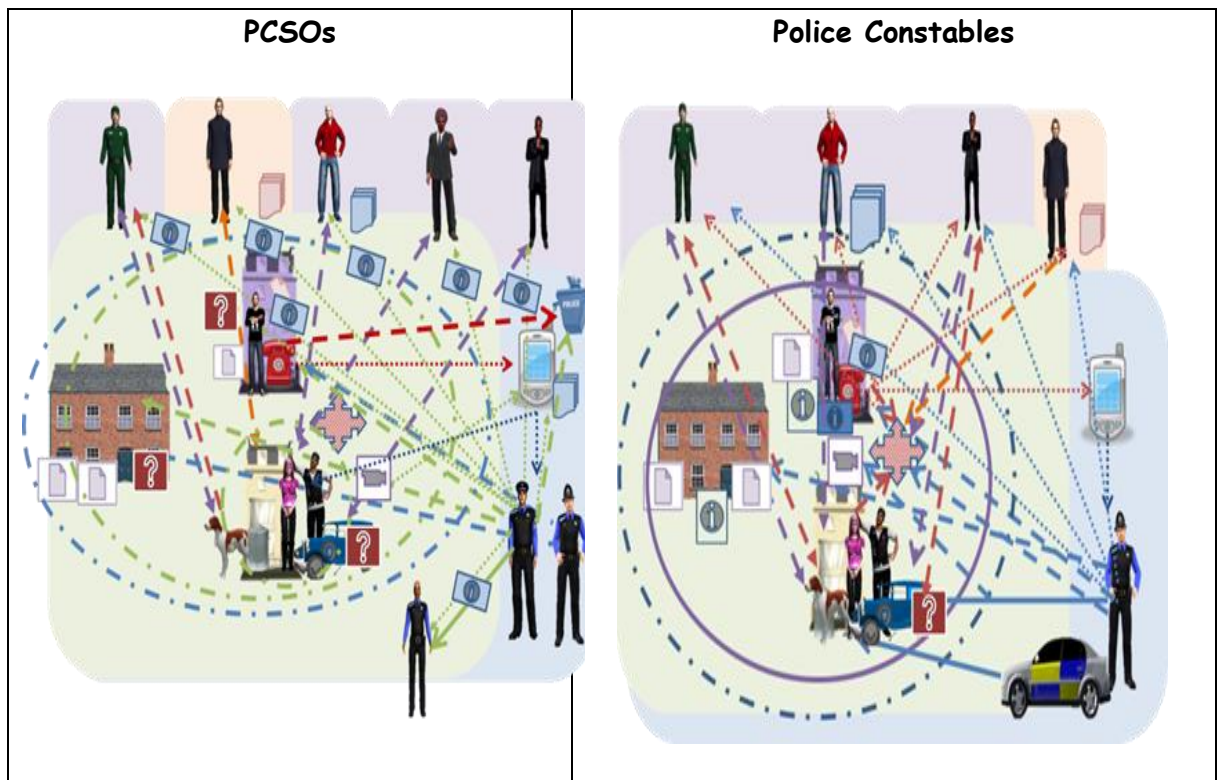
As an example of this, the need for a medical intervention to support the resolution of the scenario is set within a darker pink background.

Figure 8.39a): Medical (GP) response with cultural/organisational attractant



Figure 8.40: Comparison and Consolidation of Group Responses Scenario 6
Community Anti-Social Behaviour





A dynamic interplay between the police, the NHS (to provide medical support to the potential victim), the Local Authority and/or Landlord was noted by the five Manager respondents in relation to the perceived contextual support for the resolution of the problems identified within scenario six.

A problem solving multi-agency approach was thus advocated by all Manager respondents. As part of this strategy there was also a need to transfer the responsibility from the general duties (or response officers) who might be called out to initially deal with these issues, to the neighbourhood policing teams who were based within the community. It was appreciated that community based officers might have knowledge or an appreciation of any historical issues within the community (or associated with any of the protagonists involved) which might

facilitate a speedy resolution of the problem. Police Managers advocated an approach which guided those involved towards tolerance, as was an unbiased approach to investigating the community based issues that may consequently impact in relation to the problem. One respondent noted the need to involve families associated with generating community problems in a *re-education process*.

'The disruptive family has to be re-educated.....'

'If there are only a few problems - then the community needs to be educated'

(Insp 2)

Overall they saw their officers as *facilitators* of a resolution of this community based problem, which meant that they would work to ensure open lines of communication between all concerned and encourage the suitable reporting and recording of data from which 'evidence', further action might subsequently be taken.

The four Sergeant respondent's generally focussed on multiagency working between the police neighbourhood teams, the council (which included including officers associated with Environmental Health) and the Landlord, (if the property was privately owned).

'I would need to report ASB and involve partners such as the council who can then assist with noise problems - if the property occupied by the problem family is privately rented or council owned we can take steps to protect their

other tenants. We can also deal with the abandoned vehicle and other environmental issues - but the council would have to take a lead on those'. (Sgt 1)

Like their Managers, they noted that police officers who were designated as being on 'Response' duties would deal with the immediate issues arising from the initial call but subsequently pass the responsibility for the resolution of the problem over to neighbourhood beat teams to handle. The identification of vulnerable people involved in this issue was noted as important by one respondent particularly in relation to the effect of any victimisation caused by the impact of these continuing nuisances.

For this group the Police focus was principally identified as being associated (and dealing) with any criminal offences committed in the area whilst they felt that representatives of the local authority should take a lead on issues relating to noise and environmental health, (the rubbish, the abandoned car etc.). All Sergeant respondents agreed that the situation needed to be monitored, and that as part of this process, members of the community who had been affected by the anti-social behaviour of their neighbours should be regularly visited as part of an evidence gathering process.

Unless criminal offences had been committed (and dealt with), this scenario would be recorded as Anti-Social Behaviour and be the principle responsibility of the local authority to resolve.

There was an expectation by a couple of the eight Police Constable respondents that the police call handler would be able to displace the initial enquiry towards other agencies who might have more power to take action in the circumstances described in this scenario. They nevertheless continued by describing the actions they would undertake but would additionally emphasise the need for the caller to contact other organisations. Those Police Officer respondents dedicated to 'Response' within the sample reinforced their duty to provide initial support but subsequently transfer the call to neighbourhood teams to deal with any on-going issues.

'I would hope call Handler would give initial advice- council dog warden etc. - but also pass info through to local police to be made aware. I'd pass on the same advice as the call taker- but would offer to speak to the family'. (PC 7)

The need to gather evidence, including the taking of statements from all involved, in order to ascertain whether any criminal offences had in fact taken place was considered by a number of officers to be important. Generally however a facilitative role was outlined by respondents who saw a *mediation* focus as being part of a long term resolution of the problem.

Overall this scenario was seen by Police Constables as being the responsibility of the local authority. This responsibility included the removal of dogs, rubbish and vehicles and the collation of evidence if legal action was necessary. Officers

however did feel that their role to advise and reassure was key to the overall resolution of the difficulty.

Like responses from other categories of police staff the twelve PCSO subjects identified the need to approach this event as part of a multi-agency activity. This was acknowledged as a complex process. Respondents identified within various interviews the need to form partnerships with representatives from the local authority and the landlord (if the property was privately owned), trading standards, the ASB unit, The Environmental Health Department and the dog warden to resolve or remove the issues identified. One officer noted the need to ask for advice about this from his Sergeant.

The intelligence and evidence gathering process was identified in most of the responses. Activities associated with this process ranged from the acquisition of CCTV images to diaries kept by the victims/caller and local community affected. The history of the property in relation to the identification of property warning markers and/or of individuals involved was seen as an important aspect of this issue. The recording of police actions on police systems was also identified.

Support for the caller was identified as being important with officers noting the need for sensitivity and security by arranging to meet the caller for their interviews at either the local police station or at their home address. Other members of the local community affected by the problem were noted as also being interviewed, providing statements and being participants in the gathering of

evidence in potential further criminal investigations. Mediation between all parties affected was also identified as an important process.

There was a general appreciation that there was little that the police could physically do if criminal offences had not taken place and as such their role in this scenario was one of facilitation and support within the process which should be driven by external agencies.

Seventeen members of the public responded to this scenario.

Five out of the seventeen respondents stated that they would not contact the police at all under such circumstances. Whilst two acknowledged that even though it was not the role of the police they would expect some guidance or a response by officers if they had taken the trouble to call in the problem in the first instance.

The need to enforce the law by the police was noted by two respondents; although what aspect of the law would be utilised was not fully identified or apparently appreciated.

The role of mediation, facilitated by the police in a friendly manner to resolve problems was acknowledged by one respondent; however more felt that whilst the police might have a general 'chat' with them about the problem, their principle role would be to enforce good behaviour on the family causing concerns.

This might be achieved by a verbal warning to behave, a legal summons enforcing the law or by removing the family from the community.

Recognition of the responsibility of the council in the resolution of this problem was acknowledged by only one of the public respondents which suggests the need for wider community based education about this role.

8.41 Consolidation and Comparison of Data Scenario 7: Anti-Social Behaviour 'Young People'

The next section represents the mapped response to Scenario 7 Anti-Social Behaviour Young People.

The question which was asked to the research participants is as follows:

I gave a member of the public the following scenario:

A group of young people frequently meet on a small green in front of your home. They talk loudly and drink cans of alcohol the result of which makes them appear unruly.

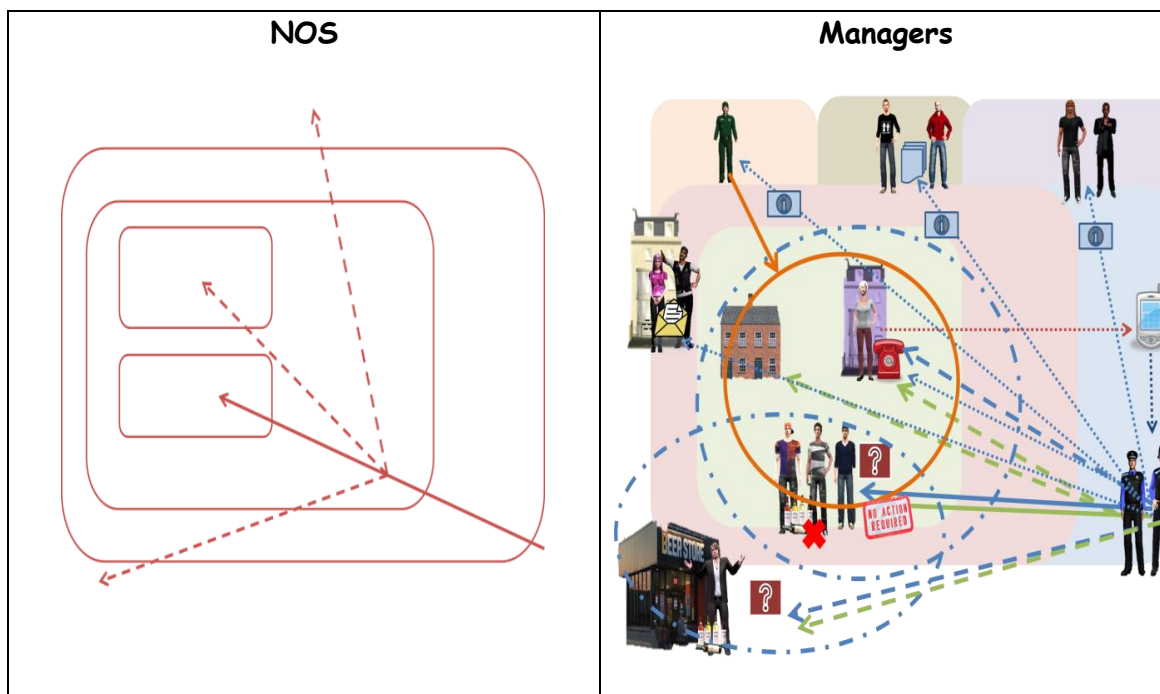
If police officers were called out under these circumstances what should they do?

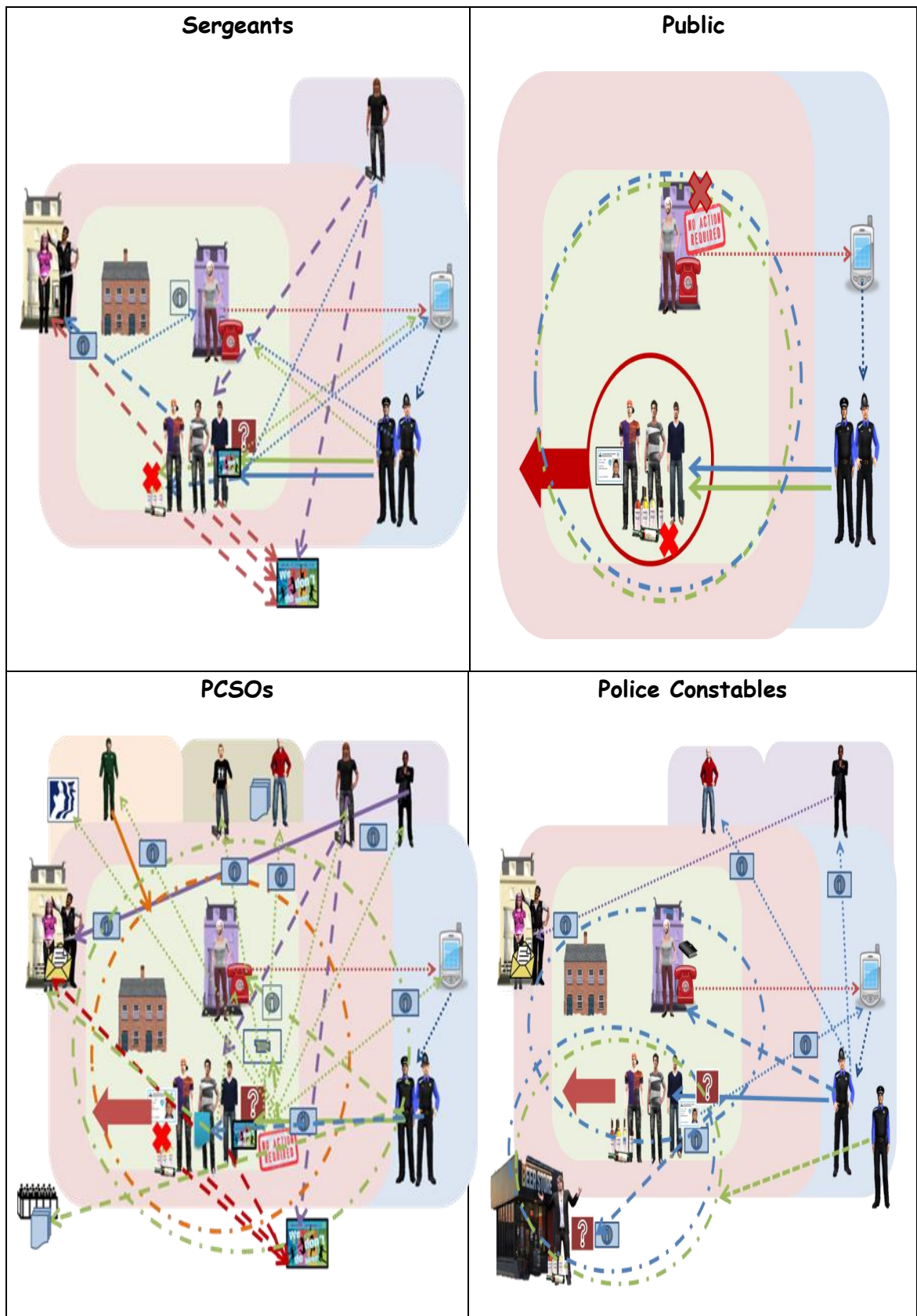
The Key for Scenario 7 reflects the themes and actions identified by all respondents to this scenario. The 'attractants' associated with the 'pulls' of different organisational cultures, values and procedures have been identified within each map by the multi coloured backgrounds upon which the central attractants are situated. Representations of officers' acknowledgments of the formal notification procedures within multi agency working, and, the broader picture of additional criminal offences that might be associated with this case are also reflected. This includes for example the prosecution of the supplier of the intoxicants.

Figure 8.41: Key to Scenario 7 ASB Young People

Local Police Beat Team 	Caller 	Subjects of Complaint 	Local Community 	Seller of Beverage 	Police response 	Case file 
Action 	Control FHQ 	Telephone communication 	Undetermined offences 	Reassurance 	ASB Officer 	Youth Worker 
Communication 	Health / Social Worker 	Confiscation of substance if unlawfully held and consumed 	Parents 	Council Officer 	Dispersal Notice 	Cultural or Procedural Attractors 
Notification of Incident 	Parks / Environmental Health 	Information about offence 	No Action Necessary 	Information about Youth Activities and Youth Activities 	Check age/identity 	
Move group on to other location 	Diary of events for evidence 	CCTV 	Prosecution 	Community Safety Partnerships 	Intoxicants 	

Figure 8.42: Comparison and Consolidation of Group Responses Scenario 7 Anti-Social Behaviour Young People





In total there were forty-six responses to this scenario.

Four Senior Officers (police managers) responded to this scenario and as the consolidation map indicates a significant number of actions were generated by expectations of their officers as a result of the vignette.

A specific focus of manager's responses was directed towards the support of the community without unnecessary levels of persecution of the potential offenders (the young people involved). The Managers did not neglect the possible concerns of the Callers however as they suggested that officers might feedback their actions via the telephone where necessary to preserve their anonymity.

The support of the youths /offenders themselves was considered by informing other agencies that might be in a position to divert and resolve inappropriate activities and behaviours such as habitual drinking and the potential health risks associated with these activities. This also included, (as part of a multi-agency intervention), the notification of the youth's parents about their child's unlawful behaviour and possible formal legal action by the Local Authority. The recording and further investigation of behaviours by the main protagonists (the youths) and their supplier of alcohol, to enable potential prosecution to take place, was also noted.

Where no criminal offences were identified good communication was seen as a positive method of resolving issues.

The main focus of the Sergeant respondents centred around the support, reassurance and feedback to the Caller, preserving their anonymity. The processing of any possible criminal actions involving the consumption of alcohol by the youths and their subsequent diversion from both the location and the activity by liaison with youth workers and youth organisations was considered in some detail by these officers, who also proposed a more informal contact with parents which involved a home visit by officers to explain and advise.

Responses by Police Constables provided a fair overview of their role in relation to the support of local community issues and the investigation and evidence gathering procedures which would ultimately lead to the punishment of offenders in a situation such as that described within the scenario.

Elements of police practice identified within the responses of other groups were repeated in the police constable responses. These included: the support of the community and anonymity of the caller, the recording and sharing of information with partner agencies and the collation of evidence.

The notification of the youths' behaviour to their parents via the formal local authority route and an investigation leading to the identification of the supplier of the alcohol to under aged drinkers (if a criminal offence had been committed) was also noted.

Responses by the PCSOs involved in this research provided a varied series of potential resolutions to the problem outlined by the scenario. Communication

was identified as being an important tool for resolution, as one might expect from officers with limited powers of policing.

The notification by officers to various agencies of a potential community problem was one strand which was highlighted by a number of PCSOs in different ways. This included; liaison with agencies to share recorded evidence and intelligence, and, the potential for a closer partnership working with Police Constables who, with their additional policing powers were in a better position to take action to prosecute repeat offenders.

Other areas of focus included the support of the community and caller (again keeping their identity a secret) and the potential support of the youths, who were at the heart of the *problem*, by social and youth workers. This included both the displacement of location and activity wherever possible. Checks on the identity and age of the youths involved and the confiscation of alcohol for under aged drinkers was also a procedure identified by PCSO ranks. These elements constitute policing powers held by PCSOs locally which may not be nationally reflected because of the choice of powers selected by Chief Officers by region. Parental involvement and their notification about the problem was also highlighted by PCSOs.

Ten members of the public respondents (50% of respondents in this group to this scenario) noted that they would not contact the police under these circumstances

Those who did appeared to either wish a '*softly softly*' approach toward a negotiated resolution with regular police patrols to ensure a trouble free zone, or the more direct removal of all concerned.

Like the police organisation responses the checks for age and the confiscation of alcohol for under aged drinkers were also identified by the public sample as expected practice.

Whilst not involved in this research directly the scenario maps have highlighted the importance of the call handler and the potential for decisions to be made outside the 'attraction sink' which will undoubtedly have an impact on the focus of the police response. This role has also been identified by the police in more recent times to have the potential for a significant impact on their responses.

The policy document, *Contact Management Principles and Practice 2012* (ACPO NPIA 2012, p.52) reinforces the need for discretion in the call handler role as it states that:

'Empowering staff to use their professional judgment and skills to effectively resolve calls for service from the public is fundamental to delivering a tailored service to our communities'.

This provides reinforcement for the concepts highlighted initially by the Flanagan Review in 2008 and the Reducing Bureaucracy Programme Board (RBPB).

In a pilot scheme in Greater Manchester and Staffordshire force areas, Call Handlers were encouraged to undertake a risk assessment analysis to consider whether missing persons were *'missing'* or *'absent'* prior to the dispatch of resources.

As a result of the success of this scheme ACPO published Interim Guidance on the Management, Recording and Investigation of Missing Persons 2013¹³¹.

This document provided clear definition of the terms *Missing* and *Absent* which Call Handlers were then tasked to analyse prior to the dispatch of police resources.

Definitions which supported their analysis follow:

Missing - "Anyone whose whereabouts cannot be established and where the circumstances are out of character or the context suggests the person may be subject of crime or at risk of harm to themselves or another."

Absent - "A person not at a place where they are expected or required to be."

In this guidance the role of the Call Handler is further expanded with support for their developing duties from a 'self-learn' study package placed on 'POLKA' (2010) the Police Online Knowledge Area (NB: this material is not accessible by members of the public). As a result of this training, which is apparently neither monitored nor compulsory, 'Call Handlers' are now deemed fit to make the initial decision as to whether this type of potentially serious incident warrants a police response.

¹³¹ ACPO (2010). Guidance on the Management, Recording and Investigation of Missing Persons (2nd Edition)[PDF only]. London: NPIA

The potential for crimes associated with missing persons who are deemed to be at risk or in danger is explored in some detail by this guidance.

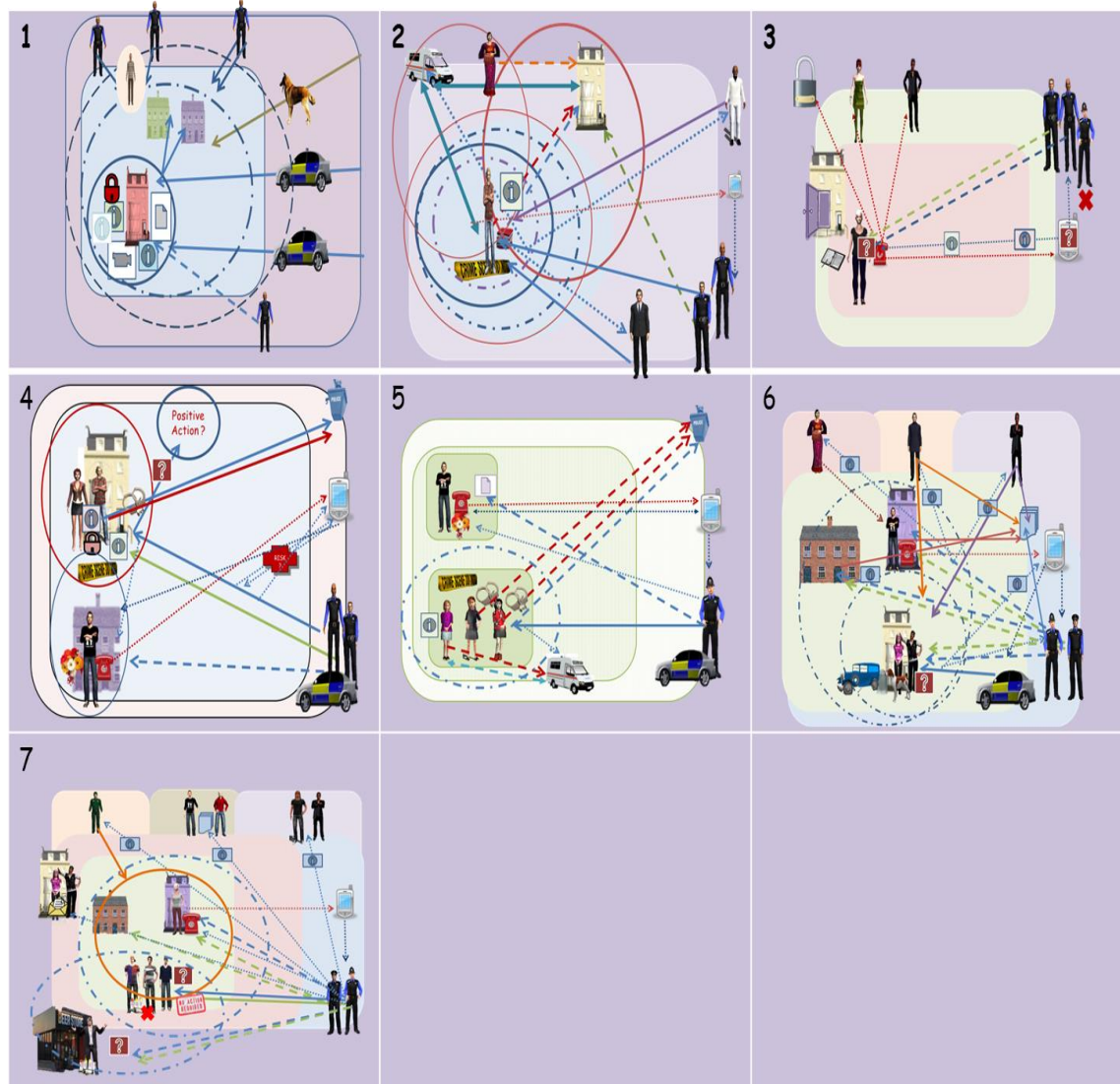
Those people who come under the category of missing from home may be the victims of a number of serious offences but the initial responsibility to co-ordinate a police response sits Call Takers who are distant (potentially) from the impact of their decisions. As such this role represents not only a shadow system which underlies the policing process but also part of a stable but strange attractor in relation of the possible influence over policing but also public perceptions of police process.

In July 2015 a practical example of the negative impact of the work of the Call Handler was tragically revealed in the story of John Yuill and Lamara Bell who were involved in a car collision on the southbound M9 near to junction 9. In spite of a call to the police by a passer-by who reported seeing a vehicle which appeared to have been involved in an incident; the call handler apparently failed to prioritise the response. As a result Yuill and Bell were left in their crashed car for three days before the police attended. By this time missing person's reports had also been filed with the police. Sadly the couple died.

When comparing the responses of policing groups over all of the scenarios the actions of the Call Handler are less well represented in the perceptions of policing responses by Police Managers.

Figure 8.43

Cross Scenario Comparison Police Managers

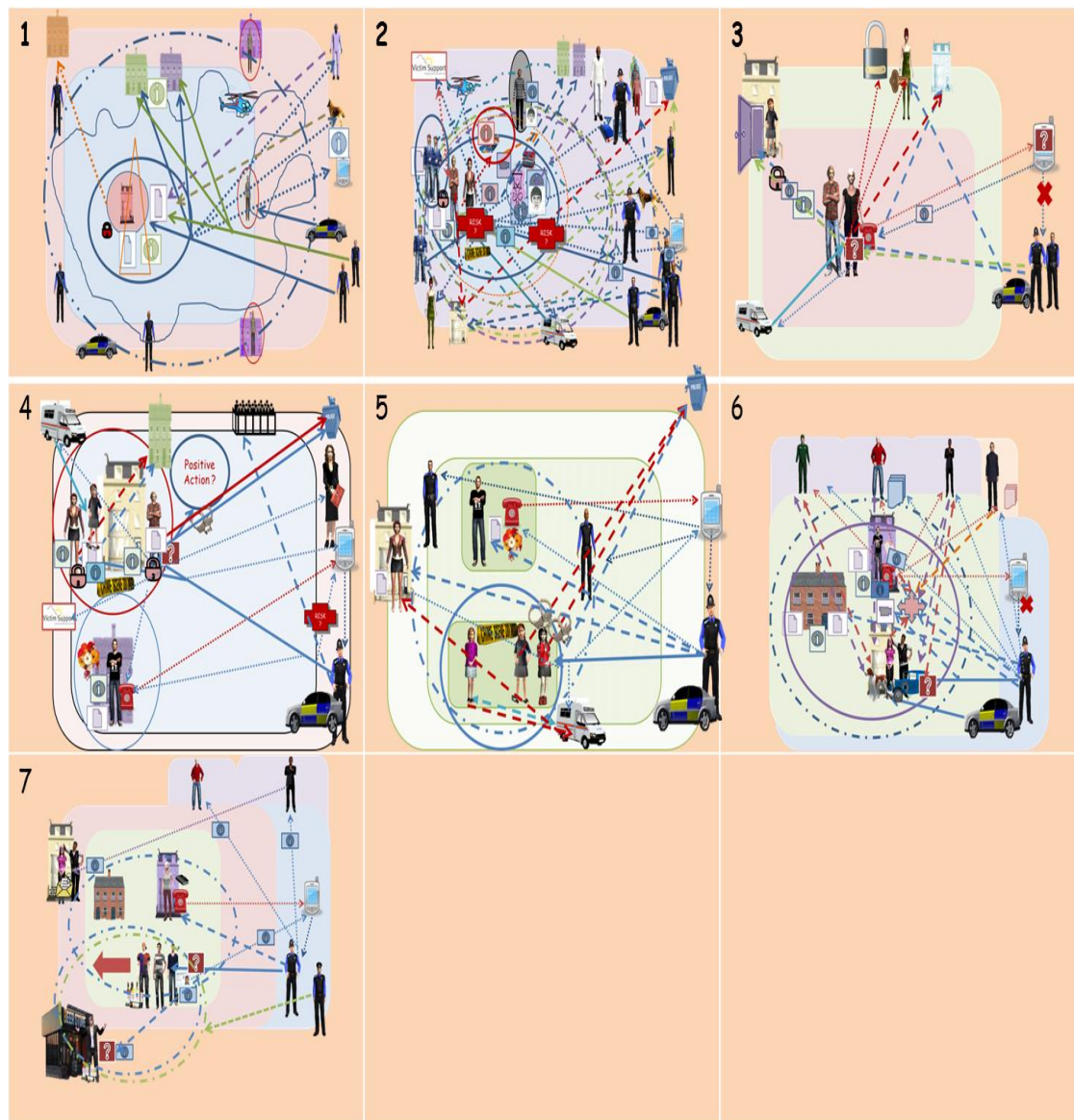


In contrast, the maps for other ranks indicate a more active role between officers' actions and information generated or circulated by these purveyors of intelligence and interpreters of behaviours.

A map of Police Constables actions across the scenarios is provided as a comparator.

Figure 8.44

Cross Scenario Comparison Police Constables



All cross scenario group maps are represented in the Appendix.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

- *The Problematique Restated*

The study originally set out to gain an understanding of modern community policing responses through the management, administration and development of the role of the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO), which was introduced as part of Police Reform initiatives in 2002 by gaining answers to the question;

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?

In spite of the, then Labour, government's intention that the position of PCSO would provide a local point of (police) contact which would directly engage with community issues and concerns; specifically associated with anti-social behaviour, it was quickly noticed that there was some confusion about the expectations of the role (Crawford and Lister 2004; Cooper et al 2006). As a result, it has been suggested that the role has subsequently dissolved into a more general police centric position as opposed to its intended wider ranging community support focus (Rogers 2004). Associated with this concern, was a need to understand what the community actually wanted from this type of policing and determine an explanation for the apparent confusion associated with the introduction of role of the PCSO.

Inextricably linked to both of these questions was the review of the progressive impact of government controls more recently embodied within the concept of performance management and the introduction of National Occupational Standards (NOS) which meant that discretion, formerly a cornerstone of policing of the community, was now being eroded. Answers to these questions are reflective of a greater critical debate around societal control and responses to crime which poses whether modern community policing is fit for purpose.

The historical review of literature associated with policing and community responses to law and control within the early chapters of this thesis provides a foundation to the subsequent research focus. This literature evidences the non-linear influences of complex events and systems which have attracted community behaviours and interactions resulting at times in an unexpected multifaceted policing response. Suitable reactions to *wicked* problems continue to vex police practitioners of all ranks and, if inappropriately managed, result in potentially tragic events and outcomes with subsequent demands for additional controls to police discretion or police action. This potentially undermines the generally sound work of many officers and the ability to make decisions which are fit for purpose.

In a recent example one police area, on advice of the East Midlands Special Operations Unit (EMSU), made the decision NOT to investigate 50% of reported burglary attempts in order to save funds. The choice of response was based on whether an address had odd or even numbers. Senior Officers subsequently defended their decision by stating that *research indicated* that of 1,172

attempted burglaries attended by forensic officers in the region, only 33 suspects were identified. This was, as a result, a waste of a valuable resource which, according to their research, made little difference to those concerned. Little thought was given to the broader impact of the decision and the subsequent response by the media.

When this situation was revealed local people were understandably shocked by the decision which was made without consultation either with the local PCC, victims groups or the public themselves. To the police however this appeared to be a perfectly reasonable response to a difficult financial problem.

This exemplar of the impact of a simple response made by senior officers to a complex problem additionally highlights the need for police managers to become part of a process which leads to a more participatory approach to problem solving.

A further more tragic example of a contrast to the expectation of the work of police constables and PCSOs involves the case of hate crime victim Bijan Ebrahimi who was killed in 2013 after repeatedly asking for help from the local police as he feared for his life. In November 2015, at the time of writing this thesis, three constables and a PCSO are undergoing trial for misconduct in a public office after allegedly repeatedly ignoring Mr Ebrahimi's pleas. The prosecution case currently implies that their personal prejudices may have been a factor in their behaviour; an *attractant* which impacted negatively on the result of police actions in this case.

Traditionally, scholars have approached their studies and research about community policing in a generally linear narrow way; focussing on themes and issues as opposed to a more complete picture - a sketch as opposed to an oil painting (Eck 2003). This is indicated by the apparent lack of knowledge of important practice based processes which only emerge and subsequently become apparent in hindsight, when identified, for example, within serious case reviews. These revelations about practice are usually coupled with the perceptions of police managers that alternative procedures were in fact in place at the time (Bichard 2004). This rather damaging awareness of policing process and its management, is magnified by the additional understanding that apparently different procedures are adopted to deal with common policing concerns within each policing community nationally. This is indicated and evidenced by the results of HMIC annual reviews.

As a consequence, this knowledge might indicate that certain elements of research and procedural guidelines directed towards policing, like those formerly evangelically promoted by the government in the principles of 'What Works' to the Probation Service in the 1990s may be inadequate (Ward 2008). The alternative proposition is that those individuals responsible for the strategic management of community policing initiatives do not fully appreciate the implications for practice based responses to the sorts of wicked problems which might become manifest within front line services.

The example of a 50% response to attempted burglary previously discussed provides an example of the lack of management foresight which is further

supported by the findings of this research. This indicates that managers within policing do not appear to look at all of the components of a wicked problem. They apparently prefer to focus on an incomplete characteristic which means that they may subsequently make a decision which is based on sometimes limited knowledge. Whilst it may be argued that strategic management is all about cutting out the outliers to concentrate on the main theme it means that a range of risks may not automatically be considered to the extent they should be in some cases and may be over managed in others. The case of the four officers currently undergoing trial (formerly noted) provides additional evidence that manager's perceptions of officer's behaviours may not be wholly accurate.

In an endeavour to identify some of these potentially missing fragments, and provide a broader vision of community policing upon which future research might be founded, this work was undertaken from the standpoint that as policing was a complex business it might be better viewed, analysed and interpreted by means of theory and method that most appropriately represented such processes.

As it was felt that more conventional approaches to the thematic processing of this research data would make the recognition of the important but subtle complex differences, usually seen as research outliers, difficult, the researcher's understanding of the question as a complex issue was used as a spur to review the issue through the lens of complexity theory. This was subsequently employed as a basis for data collection and analysis. The adoption of visual

methods has enabled a more complete appreciation of complexity in terms of theory whilst offering an opportunity to clearly present the results to the reader.

Whilst examples of visual representations of complex problems have been adopted previously in research by using flow charts for example, or computer programmes to generate images such as scattergrams the methods adopted by this research are unique in that they visually reflect data and the actions of those involved. In analysing the research in this way it was noted that sometimes it was obscure influences or attractors that made the most significant impact to people's perceptions or understanding of hypothetical policing process or the perception of police behaviours or responses¹³². This method illuminates differences and similarities between subject responses, enabling them to be more clearly observed and, as a consequence, reducing the potential selectivity (confirmation bias) in the presentation of results (Maccoun 1998).

In order to promote the visual methods and analysis developed for this research the author presented her approach to visual analysis and methodologies at the IATED ICERI International education conference in Seville in November 2014 and was invited to show case some of the mapping processes as part of an online AHRC- funded skills development project organised by researchers at Birmingham Institute of Art and Design (Birmingham City University) and

¹³² The call out for the RAC for example in the *Locked out* scenario.

Communication and Media Research Institute (University of Westminster¹³³).

These promotional opportunities provide examples of a sample of the potential diverse audience for this work.

The main empirical findings of this research are general themes which emerge across the 'chapter specific' scenarios and have been generally discussed in Chapter 8. They are initially presented and synthesised as part of the investigation undertaken within this thesis and are provided as a foundation for subsequent discussion. The methodological framework which utilises tools from *Complexity Theory* to capture evidence of subtle differences within police procedure provides a unique perspective of *potential* actions to common incidents and, in doing so, provides evidence for researchers to review problems from an alternative vista, focusing on differences as opposed to similarities specifically.

The research findings similarly provide a unique perspective of community policing which can be viewed as noting areas of potential harmony, conflict or dysfunction as a result of perceptions, behaviours and the impact of non-specific basins of *attraction*. This is mirrored by the possible implications to public policy which takes for granted that there will only be a narrow range of possible responses to guidelines.

Whilst this method has provided a unique approach to study in this area it has not been without problems, in particular the accommodation and promotion (as important) of the potential *outliers* found in results which are normally

¹³³ See <http://creativeresearchmethods.wordpress.com/2013/08/26/perceptions-of-policing-the-management-of-change-within-the-police-service/>

disregarded within some more traditional forms of social research. This study has identified that the outliers are potentially the most illuminating factors within research and that the complexity approach enables the identification of what these outliers might be and what they might consequently go on to do.

This has proven to be challenging to those with more firmly held empirical research beliefs and has become a thought-provoking foundation for debate. Traditional perceptions associated with risk for example may become uncertain, fragmented and eroded as a result of drawing together evidence from broader spheres and reviewing research through the vista of complexity.

Until recently, government bodies have preferred to dictate organisational policy and procedure to criminal justice partners as a number of variations on a theme, subsequently developing policy guidelines with associated (sometimes different) definitions to each of the organisations who might be potentially involved with a specific challenge. An appreciation of domestic violence for example, was initially associated with at least two different definitions aligned with criminal justice interests. Under such circumstances it is perhaps unsurprising that inter-professional responses to wicked problems have focussed more on attempting to resolve the glitches associated with inter-professional working as opposed to the resolution of the issue under scrutiny (Atkinson et al 2007; Home Office 2013).

Empirical Findings

The following section will synthesize the empirical findings to answer the study's main research questions.

Do front line police officers and PCSOs meet the expectations of the public and police managers in community policing?

The reflections of the PCSO subjects

The findings of this research indicate that there is still some blurring around the perceptions of the role of the PCSO by front line officers and their managers.

PCSOs appear overall to understand their role and position within community policing but are aware that they will still be required to undertake duties from time to time for which they have not been trained (or will not be insured) to do.

This is indicated in a number of the scenarios by the risk icon and indicators of non-attendance by the PCSO. These signs are accompanied by lines of action however which indicate activity in spite of officers concerns¹³⁴.

A number of the PCSOs interviewed appeared to understand policy and procedure and be capable of responding to incidents which might be deemed inappropriate for their status and role within policing. The following examples come from the Domestic Violence Scenario, Scenario 4.

¹³⁴ See as an example the PCSO response to Scenarios 2

'If domestic violence reported it shouldn't be called out as a job for a PCSO' (PCSO 7)

'I would usually separate both parties to enable anything to be disclosed of a confidential nature- I would find out what is going on and either arrange for /effect an arrest or take one party away to prevent a breach of the peace'.

(PCSO 8)

Acknowledging the unpredictability of policing however, these officers provided sound and accurate responses to the scenario based questions in which they reflected a *focus principally on victim support*; as opposed to the investigation of potential offences.

As a possible consequence of having previous experiences with more multifaceted issues of this sort (which was noted anecdotally by the majority), there was a specific awareness of the potential risks associated with possible police actions.

As PCSO 6 stated in relation to Scenario 4;

'I wouldn't feel comfortable dealing with that without another officer present.' *(PCSO 6)*

PCSOs were particularly critical of the role of the *Call Handler* in their deployment of staff within directed responses to incidents. They highlighted

experiences of illogical responses to events where diarised appointments had been made by Call Handlers for incidents demanding immediate action. Concerns were additionally expressed that Call Handlers did not appear to understand their (the PCSO) role.

'Some call takers would spend time giving advice others would just send it through without consideration- some might even book diary appointments for next week!!!!' (PCSO 3)

Although not specifically asked as part of this research overall PCSOs did not disclose any specific acrimonious behaviour exhibited towards them in post by other front line warranted officers. Partnerships with police officers in the resolution of community problems appeared to be expected as a key element of the role and was noted in positive terms overall. This appears to be potentially in contrast with research undertaken by UNISON, amongst others, which suggests that civilian staff may be direct targets of bullying by police staff.

The Reflections of Police Constable and Sergeant Subjects

Other front line staff (Police Constables and Sergeants), who were interviewed for this research, identified a number of actions in response to the scenario questions and perceived incidents, which reflected the need for a PCSO to work in tandem with them.

In spite of a general acknowledgement of the potential role played by a PCSO in community policing, there was still an expectation expressed by officers, that in the majority of cases the principle response to any incident would be provided by a police constable. This appears to be in contrast to the perceptions of some of the PCSOs who appreciated that incidents associated with anti-social behaviour were more directly allied with their function in the police service.

For a number of officers and managers however the PCSO or non-police response was more generally seen as part of a secondary procedure. On balance, whilst describing their potential responses to the various scenarios police constables appeared to have a greater tendency to focus principally on processes involved in the *investigation of the incident*. In contrast, victim support, as noted by the responses of some officers, consequently came a poor second in their list of response priorities. With the changing focus within the criminal justice system towards victim needs this result might suggest the need for additional training in victim support.

The role of sergeant generally provided the research with materials which at times reflected both the practice and strategy of community policing. This was additionally balanced with an appreciation of the public perspective and a need to support victims whilst investigating offending behaviour.

Front line officers questioned for this research made no mention of any animosity or ill feeling towards the rank of PCSO. There was no concern expressed about any erosion of the role of police constable by those constables

questioned. Front line officers tended to know generally what a PCSO could or could not do. Only former PCSOs however who had subsequently become serving police constables appeared to understand the full extent of policing powers associated with the post. This indicates the need for further reorientation about roles and responsibilities of the PCSO within basic police training.

For the policing subjects the research interviews additionally highlighted a subtle gender bias, or cultural attractant, inherent in policing as victims were perceived principally to be female when their gender was not revealed. No cultural or ethnic differences were highlighted in any of the perceived response activities to the scenarios. These responses were not affected by either the race or gender of the interview subjects.

Police Manager Responses

In their responses to the various scenarios Police Managers tended not to automatically link the potential action of a PCSO to support other front line officers. More importantly, the scenarios within the questionnaire which reflected minor incidents and were focused on anti-social-behaviour, a core task of the PCSO, were not generally identified by managers to be the particular responsibility of PCSOs.

The visual research methods indicated overall a general reduction in the number of perceived alternative responses to the scenarios by police managers in comparison to their officers.

The potential for wicked problems identified by the front line officers in their resolution of the incidents described within the scenarios, and, their novel responses were not wholly reflected by the perceptions of their managers.

Whilst it might be argued that some of the responses to the scenarios from front line officers might be a little unrealistic, particularly at a time of economic hardship¹³⁵, these officers responded to the questions by considering all of the perceived alternatives available to them to resolve the problem under discussion. For the front facing lower ranking officers, the need to resolve a problem provides for a smorgasbord of options, whereas at senior manager level these opportunities appear to be reduced, possibly as a result of concerns about the cost implications of such resources.

This type of response may be seen as being associated with the *different worlds* inhabited by the various ranks. Both groups again appear to be influenced by their own shadow systems and the attractants which motivate their responses. In the case of senior ranks the influence of such attractants may subconsciously remove a number of available options to problem resolution. Consequently the simple approach to problem solving is reinforced strategically.

The research indicates the need for a re-connection between managers and front line staff, a greater understanding about the role of the PCSO and a need to generate a more dynamic flow of information and activity to ensure greater understanding of policing 'bottom up' as opposed to top down.

¹³⁵ For example, calling out the police helicopter to search for suspects in the attempted burglary scenario

Communication was an issue which continued to be problematic as front line officers anecdotally expressed concerns that they felt that their managers would not support their decisions in complex circumstances where things went wrong. Historically this appeared reminiscent of some of the communication problems and behaviours experienced by Peel's officers¹³⁶. Officers on the front line also felt that there was not a safe method of bottom to top communication as they believed that giving bad news to some senior managers would subsequently be held against them in relation to their career progression.

The confirmation (if it was necessary) that policing is a complex process requiring at times innovatory responses to wicked problems can be visually observed in the research analysis contained by each of the scenarios investigated. This evidence appears manifest in the different perceptions of activity and the proposed responses to the scenarios *individually* expressed by the research subjects. The results additionally indicated that police managers needed to more fully appreciate that their perception of duties on the front line of police work might be somewhat distant from reality. Whilst it might be argued that this is due to length of service and time in rank, one of the senior officers anecdotally revealed that she felt that societal and community expectations moved so quickly that it was difficult for a senior manager to fully appreciate what was happening on the front line on a day to day basis.

¹³⁶ See the case of John Syme in Appendix 5 (a)

The Public Response Results

The questions which were set within the scenarios were constructed and phrased to principally reflect the responses from the perspective of a member of the public as follows.....

'I asked a member of the public.....'

In the police interviews with front line officers comments were frequently made which pre-supposed the responses of the public to these questions. Even where front line officers responded to a scenario with every possible action to resolve it, officers felt that the public would still demand more. Surprisingly, this was not generally the case. The public sample interviewed were mostly supportive of the police and felt that the majority worked hard under difficult circumstances, which meant as a result, that they would not call out the police unless it was absolutely necessary. That did not mean however that they were not critical of police actions.

Only those respondents from this sample group who might be defined as vulnerable due to age or ill health requested that officers might do more than provide a basic service. In the non-crime incident, Scenario 3, the majority of the public interviewed felt that if they had locked themselves out of home they would sort out the problem themselves. Only the vulnerable respondents stated that officers should/would provide additional care. This largely reflected the expectations of the officers themselves.

In the attempted burglary scenario, Scenario 1, the majority felt that it was the duty of the police to attend or, at the very least, contact them to advise and reassure them. In this case it was also a visible police presence that meant something to the public respondents, as this, it seems, was about managing fear as opposed to undertaking an investigation and detecting crime¹³⁷.

Where offenders were perceived to be directly involved, in cases such as Scenario 2, the robbery scenario, the public perceived that officers would be able to make arrests and ensure that they were immediately protected.

Many of the members of the public questioned within the research appeared not to expect very much from the more general community policing processes however. Quite simply they expected a police response when they felt concern about a local issue or were victims or a witness to crime. Furthermore, they wanted to be taken seriously and to be treated with respect when they had problems and reassured if they contacted the police because of the impact of crime.

'I would expect an immediate response

I don't want to know anything (about the domestic violence incident) - I would like a call from the police to update me about the situation and assure me that my initial call was appropriate - that I was not wasting time.' (P7)

¹³⁷ This appears to be in contrast to the perceptions of the senior ranks in the real decision to only attend 50% of burglaries reported

Finally they wanted to be thanked and updated by the police if they had cause to make a report to them.

'They should let you know, if they can, that all is ok and to call them again if you are worried or if things are not ok. Alsoto thank you for alerting them to an incident'. (P9)

In some of the scenarios the respondents felt capable of dealing with community based issues themselves and were happy not to involve the police.

'Yes- but I'd probably go round there first myself. I'd go round and make sure everything is ok'. (P4)

In contrast some of the respondents indicated that they would not become involved if they were aware of an incident requiring a police presence.

'Yes I'd report if really bad but normally I would mind my own business.'

(P7)

If the police were called however, some of the public responses to the scenarios, associated with ASB for example, highlighted that they might have unrealistic expectations about what the police would be able to do to resolve the issues. A blanket phrase '*the process of law*' was adopted by the public in such cases, as if this meant that officers could do almost anything, even in some cases act against basic rights, if it meant that problems were removed to a distant location.

This indicates the need for greater public education and awareness about the role of the police and the responsibilities of other public facing agencies and

their ability to process some of the more complex human problems found within community policing.

Whilst the public sample did not make any distinction between responses by PCSOs or Police Constables to their calls they did not appear to fully appreciate the role and policing powers of PCSOs. There was a general notion expressed by this group that a police constable would possibly be more able to resolve their concerns if called upon so to do.

How have government standards and performance based controls impacted on community based policing?

In spite of general themes noted within the visual comparisons of the inter group responses there is evidence which indicates that responses to common police incidents might not be easily predicted or controlled in spite of performance measures and national standards that generally dictate activity. There is also a strong indication, in spite of the effect of government benchmarks which may impair meaningful responses to public expectations that, the closer a front line officer (sergeant, police officer or PCSO) comes to a problem at the centre of *attraction* or *incident*, the greater likelihood there will be of an innovative response. This suggests that they may be prone to take actions distinct from those anticipated by the NOS, the public or the police executives

themselves. This is evidenced by the differences noted between the basic actions highlighted by the NOS and the proposed actions undertaken.

Incidents which did not require any attendance by the police, when identified as such, still generated interest and possible engagement by police respondents if the 'actors' involved were deemed to be vulnerable.

Links to National Occupational Standards NOS

The visual comparisons with the NOS indicate that whilst there is a general association with expected procedure there is not a specific/absolute fit between expected behaviours and perceived behaviours within each or indeed any of the research groups overall. Whilst this suggests that the NOS do have influence on police responses¹³⁸ it also indicates that officers see the need to work proactively and respond to specific community needs which might become manifest in practice.

This may be based on attractants associated with previous experience, their awareness of an alternative action or the influence of organisational or governmental factors (when driven for example by performance indicators).

Evidence from both the empirical research within this thesis and elements within the literature review indicated, that whilst governmental influence on some aspects of *practical* community based policing is significant, as indicated by

¹³⁸ As they may act as a general framework upon which incidents might be built.

officers reference to policy¹³⁹ , and the elements of police process associated with the interpretation of the NOS, there are still areas of divergence.

Evidence from the Literature Review

The historical elements of the literature review indicate that there have always been tensions between national (government/constitutional) requirements and the needs of the local community when associated with law and order.

Traditional concepts of the self-sufficient community, which was policed according to the needs of its residents, can be observed over time to have become diminished within the greater social evolution and the development of the social contract of England. Whilst custom initially dictated a local responsibility for those in the office of constable, the development of society from the agrarian to the industrial highlighted more complex societal needs which subsequently subordinated local needs to those of national interest. This period also began the transformation of the office of constable from being a member of a cohesive partnership within the community towards becoming a community 'expert' who was distant from community activity and who did not wish community interference in the role. With these changes came a requirement for a more formal definition of the role of constable. What might, in a more technological age be defined as a role profile, can be seen to reflect duties which range over time from, for example, the arrest of prostitutes under the Contagious Diseases Act (1864) to

¹³⁹ As evidenced by aspects of Scenario 4

the safeguarding of the vulnerable and, under certain circumstances the use of weaponry against the community to maintain peace and order (Shaw 2014).

Some of these responsibilities further reinforce the psychological and cultural barriers that separate the police from the public (Reicher et al 2004).

The development of the role of Police Community Support Officer was seen initially as an opportunity to bond again with communities who had, over time, become disenchanted with the performance of traditional policing initiatives¹⁴⁰. Research suggests that the introduction and further development of this enterprise has not been without its problems, and is, as a result, representative of a simple process made more complex by circumstance and political influence (Johnson 2006).

The designation and rise of the rank of chief officer of police, usually known as Chief Constable or Commissioner of Police, is identified in more recent years as being critical to the development and support of local community policing initiatives. These members of the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), now the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC), hold a significant level of political influence and are supposed to balance the needs of local communities with those of the crown. Historically this is reminiscent of the role of the land owning Magistracy of the 17th Century or the control of the local Sherriff in the days of the medieval tythe and the hundreds courts (Anderson 1934).

¹⁴⁰ They too were subject to similar levels of criticism to that of the early watchmen whose role in local communities was to 'watch and ward'.

The more recent introduction of the role of *Police and Crime Commissioner* (PCC) has provided an additional layer of dynamic political influence, and an alternative power base which is directly associated with the funding of the police locally and the needs of the local communities. Whilst the possible impact of the PCC is not included in this thesis, this more strategic policing element appears to be having some impact on the way that communities are policed in some areas of the country already, and may provide future opportunity to disassemble the strategic powers accorded to Chief Officer ranks, ultimately providing government with the opportunity to develop regional or national policing and stronger interagency partnerships. This concept unhappily does have a negative side in that by sharing resources, police regions may find that they are no longer able to provide their own, more local communities, with former service levels, as resources such as police dogs, forensic support or a police helicopter may be needed simultaneously in other areas.

In 2002 an unsuccessful attempt by government to nationalise policing¹⁴¹, resulted in, and reinforced demands for, greater local autonomy by ACPO ranks. As possibly a *political concession*, choices about policing powers for the role of PCSO were left to the discretion of local Chief Officers. As a result, the variety and unequal selection of policing powers compromised the clarity of the function nationally, and, as a result, recruits to this role found themselves tasked to

¹⁴¹ This was strongly denied by the Labour government at the time but has subsequently been resurrected by the Coalition and Conservative governments along with process and policies which have curtailed the power of the former Association of Chief Police Officers

perform duties by their peers and police managers that they were neither trained nor empowered to do.

In addition to this difficult situation, political and cultural tensions associated with media reports, financial constraints and concerns expressed by The Police Federation further undermined this position with local communities, the very people who were originally intended to benefit the most from the introduction of the post. Whilst the role of PCSO *might* have provided a bridge for communication and engagement between a culturally detached police service and local communities it was now generally seen as a waste of funds by tax payers who felt that they would rather have the '*organ grinder*' attend to their problems than the '*monkey*'.

General research and government policy material prevalent at this time reinforced a performance based, task orientated, management culture in policing which shied away from the idea of discretion (for the rank and file), in favour of a *one size fits all* more consistent process. Performance management processes were reinforced by a blame culture within the service where officers felt that decisions in role would not be supported by senior ranks if their impact resulted in negative consequences. This belief continues. The introduction by the government (in 2004) of National Occupational Standards or NOS not only affected the work of police officers and staff such as PCSO'-s but also members of other organisations within the criminal justice sector.

The concept of government *control* which appeared to become further manifest within these performance management monitors appeared to be additionally associated with the management of risk in society. The impact of the NOSs accentuated, defined (or controlled) police activity; which had already been driven for a number of years by government performance targets. This meant that key government commitments to reduce certain types of crime were prioritised at the expense of the needs of local communities. Community based policing responses were, as a consequence not only at the mercy of government targets and policy; which were, in a number of cases driven by the media¹⁴², but also additional mandates from local communities reinforced by potentially unrealistic 'policing pledges' which emphasised policing commitments to community demands, usually identified by those with the loudest party-political voices.

These pledges were seen as empty promises and were dismissed by rank and file officers as being unworkable at a time of diminishing levels of person-power, overwhelming levels of bureaucracy and declining resources. This research was undertaken at a time when government and police community policing pledges were frequently being promoted by the government, media and leaflet campaigns locally. In spite of this, the result of this research indicates that the focus of front line officers was to attempt to do a *good job* - in spite of the politics involved. The responses of police managers however indicate that political expediency has a more subtle impact on their expectations of the officers under

¹⁴² The introduction of Sarah's Law is an example of media intervention.

their command. An example of this is manifest in the Managers responses to Scenario 6, the *Neighbour Anti-Social Behaviour Scenario* as the impact of medical services and in particular GP services are highlighted by managers here. As this interview process was undertaken at a time when Leicester police were subject to criticism as a result of the Fiona Pilkington case there is an indication in this response that there were politically based attractants associated with the circumstances which impacted on these officers' response. As Ms Pilkington was mentally unwell at the time of her murder-suicide, managers were acutely aware that medical intervention might have made a difference to the outcome and potentially displaced blame from the police. As a result GP services are highlighted by them. In contrast none of the other police groups interviewed noted the need to include GP services in this scenario.

Theoretical and Policy implications of this research

This section provides an exploration of the application of theoretical constructs to this thesis and its impact on policy.

- Theory

With so many complicated influences on and potentially expectations of the role of PCSO in community policing, the approach to its research needed to reflect diverse pathways of activity; as opposed to the more common simple linear process. The consequent study methods were based on an understanding of the working of complex systems and provided a visual representation of the responses to community concerns and the expectations of those actors involved in their resolution. Non-linear dynamic systems (NDS) have increasingly become popular within the social and management sciences as well as physical sciences. This has become reflected in the findings of some more forward thinking government reviews, such as the Munro review of Child Protection in the UK (2011) and the Drug Strategy for England (Home Office 2010) which both emphasize the need to take a whole systems approach. It may also be reflected in the more recent concept, promoted by the College of Policing, of *evidence based practice* for police officers, although this idea may fall inadvertently foul of narrow -results-research influencing policy and practice such as that formerly experienced by the probation service where the *What Works* policy overwhelmed common sense.

The results of this research reaffirms the need for those involved in policing to become more actively aware of nonlinear - non - policing processes; an issue identified, as formerly noted, in a number of key reviews. This is emphasised by, amongst others Hague and Malos (1998) who suggest the importance of appreciating commonalities within systems and the value of complementary approaches within agencies and organisations in order to problem solve the needs of both victim and perpetrator within, as an example, instances of domestic violence. This understanding can form the basis of a greater flow of information between the component parts of a complex system, such as the criminal justice system, and, in such circumstances, result in changes to rates of reoffending. (Shepherd and Pence 1999; Shepherd et Al 2002).

The application of more '*Police centric*' theories to this thesis which should have reflected the principles inherent in policing the community such as 'Problem Orientated Policing' (POP) and 'Broken Windows Theory' amongst others (which impacts the community in relation to 'Zero Tolerance'), have been particularly unhelpful and difficult to apply to the theoretical constructs within this research because of their bowdlerisation in practice. Whilst such theories should provide a firm foundation for policing locally, and thus ought to have been visible within some of the responses to the study scenarios; important core theoretical elements appear to be missing or have become warped when they become manifest in government policy. These are further compromised when associated with the

impact of government led performance targets, 'Best value' initiatives and incomplete quick fix police strategies. The ideals and procedural requirements of these theories (in practice) in their purest form subsequently appear as bastardised procedures which have isolated the police from the communities they serve (Community Police Consortium 1994). Opportunities consequently provided by the introduction of the role of PCSO to bridge and heal these difficulties in order to reawaken community/ police partnerships were therefore potentially set up to fail because the basic structures and procedures were already flawed. This was further compounded by the lack of guidance by the government as to what to do with the new role. It was not enough to identify powers and laws at this time; police managers and the public needed to be guided and advised and be permitted to respond in a more practical manner to the new role. The focus of policing strategies thus appear neglectful of practice based theory in some areas; - those associated with crime reduction for example have already been acknowledged as absent in a recent HMIC inspection 2014, and are largely associated by the officers themselves with the meeting of requirements of audit and ultimately dodging bad press as a result of poor service.

It would be helpful for theorists and academics to take note that their ideas around policing upon which strategic decisions may ultimately be made may not be adopted in the way intended by the police who appear to have a habit of assimilating ideas and then disassembling them. As an Inspector of police said to the author at the commencement of this research;

'We are the Borg we assimilate we don't adopt'.

In other words - it's our way or no way.

This research straddles a time frame in which the principles accorded to the management of policing have been considered in greater detail having been questioned and critiqued within a number of government reviews (Neyroud 2011; Winsor 2013). Whilst the examination of theory associated with management and leadership have not been a principle focus for this thesis, the results indicate that this is an area of continuing concern which would benefit from further review and independent research.

The data gathering process was undertaken between 2010/2011 before the introduction of the Policing National Decision Making Model in 2011. Whilst the time frames involved with the interviews prevented the Model from being considered as part of this research, the work identifies that, even before its introduction, various components and alliances with the police mission and values could be observed as being reflected in the potential responses associated with actions of front line staff and officers questioned.

Its formal introduction nevertheless provides an additional layer of influence over the responses by officers and PCSOs to community problems as it, in essence, endeavours to guide them towards defensible decision making in potentially risky circumstances. It is influenced by the Flanagan Review of Policing in 2008 which advocated organisational and procedural change, stating;

'Police officers and police staff will have to use greater professional judgment, take greater risks in their decision making and to use their discretion in order to achieve the highest levels of trust and confidence in policing. In doing so they will need to know that they have the support of their force and that there are clear and consistent standards against which their behaviour will be judged.'

Sir Ronnie Flanagan, Review of Policing – Final Report. (Feb 2008, paragraph 5.18)

- Policy Implications

'Closing the Gap' a report by Dennis O'Connor in 2005 suggested that the current structure and system of policing and responses to crime and the community needed overhaul. He stated:

*'Looking ahead the Police Service needs not only to deal effectively with volume crime, the current performance focus, but also have demonstrable readiness to tackle **complex, volatile threats to individuals, neighbourhoods and businesses.** This implies a major development in capability and to achieve this, **changes must be made not only to the structure, but the whole configuration of policing at this level**' (O'Connor 2005 p7).*

O'Connor's recommendations have yet to materialise.

Decisions or perceptions of activity made from a distance, such as those indicated by senior managers within this research are observed generally to *under estimate* the potential for wicked problems which might become manifest within a scenario and which might be perceived as holding the greatest risk to all actors

involved. Whilst this is revealed by the visual research at a basic level it is additionally tragically apparent *in hindsight* in reviews such as that of the 'Fatal shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes' (IPCC 2005).

Future criminal justice policy, in particular that which is associated with policing needs to reflect an awareness of such issues and outline the formal actions open to managers, post incident, when risk has been inappropriately managed. Similarly, policy developments which subsequently lead to changes in the strategic direction of policing, particularly those which impact on the local community, need to be prepared to accommodate the different layers of community engagement (or disengagement).

This is indicated in particular by comparing two responses to Scenario 7.

In her response, Sergeant 2 reflects, for example, the potentially destructive impact of anti-social behaviour on local communities.

'Yes anti-social behaviour may impact on their lives and others..... Get there quickly take positive action or actions appropriate to the caller. There is an element of solving the impact of immediate and long term effects'. Sgt 2

In contrast, the response from Superintendent 1 does not see the same level of urgency or potential for future concerns;

'This is not urgent there could be a scheduled response if a beat officer available'. Superintendent 1

Arguably, the impact or lack of innovative behaviours as responses to community policing problems may result in an overly simplistic or inappropriate

resolution to a wicked problem or alternatively confound societal expectations, resulting in those cases which are subsequently seen by the media as representing failures within the justice system. This suggests a need for future policy to consider inter and intra organisational operability and an emphasis on the development of practical communication channels to ensure mutual appreciation of the 'bigger picture'.

This is of particular relevance and importance as currently organisations are attempting to work together without any guidance as to how to do this effectively or any acknowledgement by government of the cultural or practice barriers involved. Managers of organisations and policy makers associated with emergency responses to community need should end the practice of silo working and recognise that in such circumstances responses should be based on recognition of a holistic organisational response, which has hitherto been blighted by cultural, political and procedural practices driven by the need to meet individual organisational performance based targets. Even though such targets are now said to be a thing of the past, police managers are *anecdotally* still managing staff and gathering data based on such ideas.

This suggests that again, there is a hole in procedural advice which until it is more clearly explored and responded to, will mean that police managers will continue to undertake their duties in a way formerly prescribed because they may need to justify behaviour if their actions are later called into question. These sorts of changes might be facilitated by modifications to the structure of policing

as suggested by O'Connor (ibid) but also a disassembly of the components currently identified as 'emergency services' as currently being discussed within the PCC role.

The combination of agencies and activities such as those more usually associated with a blue light response under one function as emergency respondents to community activity, sharing responsibility, education and training, might facilitate the suppression of cultural dynamics which act to undermine some areas of performance and response to community needs. Developments in technology make this a future possibility. Under this scheme a lower tier identified as social community support might respond to the non-emergency needs of local communities. Policing roles such as those currently occupied by PCSOs and Beat teams might work alongside social workers, local authority workers, and health and probation personnel. The idea being that by working closely together such groups would understand the community from the bottom up, and be consequently in a position to share knowledge and experiences in order to support communities and become proactively engaged with the potential community problems of the future.

The re-establishment of community priorities as opposed to national performance targets associated with crime and policing combined with community education about policing supported by government policy may also provide opportunity to reconstruct police/community links. In doing this however history warns us to be mindful of the voices locally of the powerful and influential who

might continue to exert undue influence as they did in the days when the aristocracy and magistracy controlled and managed community responses to crime in at times a biased unequal way.

- Recommendations for future research and policy development

More recently a review of the police service by HMIC into; 'Core business: An inspection of crime prevention, police attendance and use of police time' (2014) indicates that possible misaligned behaviours identified by this research thesis are manifest and recognised. This would support an application of the findings of this work post the introduction of the National Decision Model.

The following areas which are highlighted by both this research and the HMIC report might be reflected in a future review:

- ✚ Inconsistent responses to scenarios which might elicit crime reduction advice.
- ✚ The potential for distance between police managers and front line staff.
- ✚ Inconsistencies around police responses to reports of crime.
- ✚ The work of call handlers and their ability to offer relevant resolutions.
- ✚ Research into multi-agency working.

Government Policy and in particular Home Office recommendations for practice needs to more realistically reflect the influence of complex systems on social and organisational engagement. This is not however specific to the criminal justice system. Complexity influences all levels of work and organisational engagement.

- The study limitations

Whilst this study has provided a unique perspective on the way that Police Officers and PCSOs work and are managed in order to effectively respond to crime, there are also limitations to this research associated with sampling and methods which need to be considered. Perhaps the most obvious concern is that which is related to the time taken from the initial data collection to the subsequent analysis and development of the thesis.

In this time, a gap of roughly five years, there have been a number of changes which *may* have affected the manner in which police officers undertake their duties; the most obvious being those which relate to societal, economic and political drivers *or attractants*. These changes have been consequently reflected in the literature review and the associated debates around contemporary policing which are represented within this thesis.

The more obvious potential for changes to practice however are those associated with the impact of the National Decision Making Model (discussed on pages 227-228). Evidence from previous reviews of police habits and behaviours, such as those highlighted by Bichard (2004), indicate however that the impact of this model may act as an agent of reinforcement of existing routines as opposed to a catalyst for change. This suggestion has been reinforced by a variety of HMIC focussed and other serious reviews highlighted within this thesis (HMCPST, HMIC 2007; HMIC.1999; HMIC 2014)

As formerly discussed, the recruitment of the study sample was reliant on pre selection by the police based on an officer's availability. This meant that gaining feedback from managers was difficult and that in some cases managers who initially volunteered to be interviewed withdrew because of pressures of work. This meant that additional questions had to be asked of busy managers to boost responses. Methods of recruitment for the public sample also became frustrating as, in spite of advertisement, few members of the public initially came forward to be interviewed. As a result the sampling procedures became associated with more of a snowball method of selection as opposed to a random process. This meant that whilst a fair representation of the public voice is heard within this research there is a tendency for that voice not to be representative of those groups in communities who may, as a result of their offending behaviour, be more likely to be in contact with the police. Future research might consider what members of the *former or present* 'offending' community might sensibly want of their community police.

Very little has been recorded about the practical dynamics associated with the visual analysis of complex issues and as such it was initially difficult to develop a process which reflected a sound theoretical structure and which was also based on a method which would be auditable. As a consequence, the mapping of the processes can be observed to have a link with traditional methods associated with *time and motion studies*. Having formerly tested mapping software products and found them lacking the necessary components to successfully achieve required

objectives at the commencement of the research, it has been noted that more recent innovations in mapping software might have benefited the research channelling, analysis and presentation of results.

Final Remarks

This thesis set out to reveal an understanding of modern community policing by researching the impact, management and working practices of the PCSO. In doing this it discovered that much of modern policing is buffeted by a series of complex attractants which influence methods of working and responses to community and societal needs, and which might be distinct from the societal vision and expectations of the law.

Visual evidence within the research indicates that front line officers may be required to respond to apparently straight forward incidents, in, at times, innovative and complex ways which may be at odds with the expectations of society and managers within the service. It also identifies a distance between perceptions of managers and front line staff about staff actions which may lead to misunderstandings. Hidden influences, such as the dictates of performance and culture, may also become manifest in the behaviours and expected responses of officers and provide subtle bias within reactions - for example, to focus on a victims needs or alternatively the needs of an investigation. These are important attractants which may influence, and as a result, change the impact of a police activity but not be visible in traditional research methodologies.

The Call Handler was noted to be an important 'actor' in these scenarios but their status in the scenario policing processes discussed, was disregarded by a number of the research subjects. This role is an example of an important 'outlier' which has a potential impact on the effective resolution of a community problem

but is virtually invisible. By adopting research methods not normally associated with the social sciences or criminology in particular, the author has revealed a number of subtle differences within the working practices of policing thus contributing in a unique manner to the understanding of the area.

The role of the PCSO is misunderstood by some and maligned by others but the research indicates that the officers interviewed have a clear appreciation of their contribution to society and their police family even though they may be called upon to undertake duties which at times are beyond their remit. Whilst previous research may have identified specific components associated with the behaviours of officers in practice (e.g. culture, attitude) this research has uniquely visualised differences in practice-based behaviours by exception not rule, thus revealing exceptional behaviours with the potential for the unexpected.

This work provides evidence for the further development and encouragement of police practices to embrace multi-agency working and recognise that there has never been a truly simple response to community based policing problems. It additionally recognises the need to support managers within the police service and its partners towards working practices which will better appreciate and maximise the benefits of working together to resolve normal life problems which are compounded by their complex nature and which impact more broadly on the community as a whole. This, it is anticipated, will lead to organisational understanding of the impact of complex working and non-linearity.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 (a)

An alternative perspective- Explanations of the evolution from 'self' to community; based on the work of Jaynes (1976) and Dunbar (1992)

Theorists such as Jaynes (1976) argue that simple communities over 3,000 years ago depended upon processes which were generated by a 'Bicameral' mentality. In essence, he proposed that humanity did not possess the self-awareness characteristic of consciousness as experienced today, but were compelled to act by an 'executive' function of the brain which was independent from the 'human' aspect. The resulting auditory hallucinations provided individuals with rules and commands which guided their life. These voices literally appeared 'god like' and 'all knowing' and provided simple communities with the necessary orders to survive.

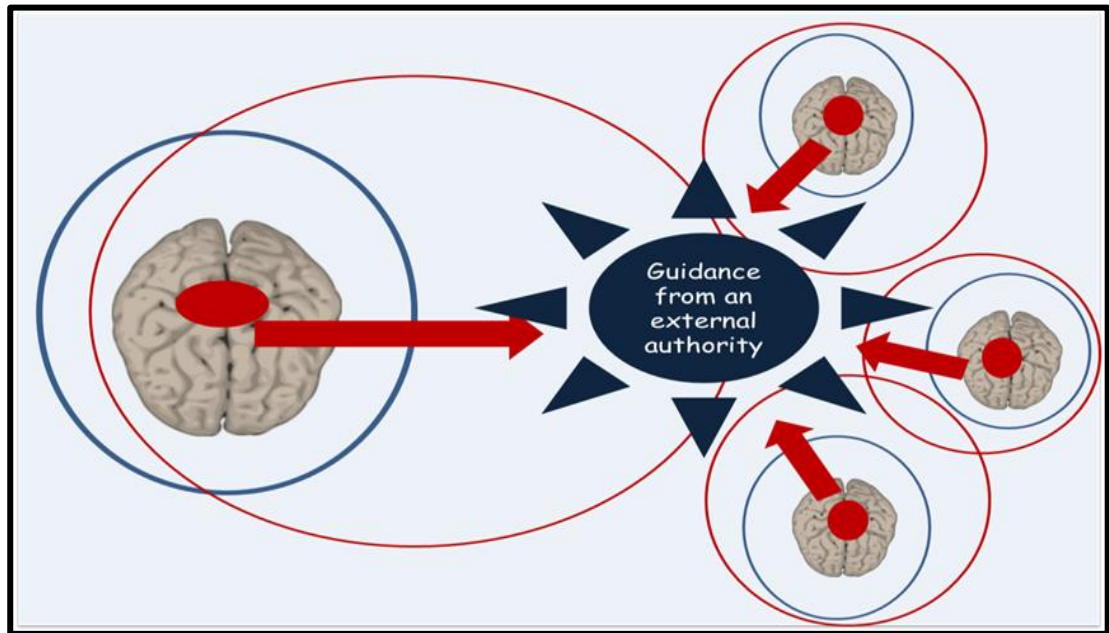
It is suggested that once communities began to become more *complex* there became a need for an independent consciousness, and ability to introspect, which necessitated a different mode of intellectual function and eroded the former bicameral process.

This process is highlighted by Figure 1(a).1 which shows the process of transformation from an independent, intellectual, *internal* voice to the beginnings

of an external authority as communal living is developed and other levels of attraction or influence begin to define society. Jaynes cites evidence of primitive societal collapse as the result of unexpected situations caused by mass migrations in the second millennium BC, with the consequent unexpected stress and situations as providing some evidence of changes in intellectual capacity and the need for humanity to innovate both as individuals and in communities, in order to survive the somewhat complex movements and requirements of *plural* community existence. A need for order remained; and Jaynes theorises that during this period of intellectual collapse, compensation arose in the need for oracles and soothsayers to provide guidance from a spiritual source and an individual need for prayer to regain linkage with external control and authority.

Jayne's hypothesis concludes by stating that a residual aspect of the bicameral mind in humanity remains universally amongst other things in religion and the need for 'external authority' in decision making.

Figure 1a.1: The Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind: Based on Jaynes (1976)



The concept of religion or faith and a community's acceptance of a central power which endures provides a linear thread through time upon which to glue common codes and a community memory which remains central to the development of the physical and moral welfare of the community. Despite the limitations of Jayne's hypothesis highlighted in review by Cavanna et al (2006), the concepts identified, draw together ideologies from a number of philosophical stances in explanation of humankind's early development and progression towards consciousness and self-awareness.


Jayne's work guides the reader to more fully appreciate the potential for human complexity from apparent simplicity, which, in the perception of one theorist, Jaynes, arose out of mankind's need for order and direction. Explanations of the development of such a complex and relatively unknown area of

early human development has tasked the minds, and necessitated the intellectual focus of theologians, philosophers and scientists for centuries leading to an extraordinary variety of theory and related evidential materials. For the purpose of this thesis however it is sufficient to acknowledge these debates and consider the continued scientific interest in the development of early communities.

Utilising evidence from anthropology and human biology Dunbar (1992) found a correlation between brain size and the development of early communities which has subsequently been applied to concepts of more modern social networking. Working initially with non-human primates he noted that there was a link between the average number of associations in monkey groups and those of primitive man. These reflected an optimum number of one hundred and fifty, which, it is suggested, represents the ideal number within a community to enable evolution towards a socially cohesive group.

Figure 1a:2: Evidence of the Optimum Number within Communities: - Based on Dunbar (1992)

Community Type	Bands	Cultural lineage groups	Tribes
Number of Community Members	30-50	100-200	500-2500
Evolutionary Status	Early community No restrictive laws Social group stable	150- approximate size of Neolithic farming village- Mean size of cohesive group	150- basic unit of professional army since Roman times



The development of language is thus seen by Dunbar as providing an opportunity for *social grooming*, (without the physical engagement seen in other primates), this subsequently enables societies to remain cohesive. The limit of neocortex size furthermore relates directly to the number of people that can be generally remembered (as part of the processing capacity), in order to maintain stable inter-personal relationships.

Appendix 1 (b)

Robert Peel's 9 Principles of Policing-

1. The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
2. The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
3. Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
4. The degree of co-operation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
5. Police seek and preserve public favour not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
6. Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient.
7. Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8. Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.
9. The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.

(These were most likely devised by the first Commissioners of Police of the Metropolis, Charles Rowan and Richard Mayne).

The following principles, which were devised by Richard Mayne, were set out in the 'General Instructions' that were issued to every new police officer from 1829 :

- 1) To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.
- 2) To recognise always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
- 3) To recognise always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing co-operation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.
- 4) To recognise always that the extent to which the co-operation of the public can be secured diminishes proportionately the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.
- 5) To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion; but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws, by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing, by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.
- 6) To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public co-operation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or to restore order, and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.
- 7) To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
- 8) To recognise always the need for strict adherence to police-executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary of avenging individuals or the State, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty.
- 9) To recognise always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

Appendix 2

Case Study Robert de Kingstone

In the same year [1231] ... on 13 January, it came about that Robert de Kingstone, a servant of Andrew Bukerel, struck Alice's son Adam on the head with an axe, resulting in his death the following day. Coming to the place where Adam had been attacked, Alice seized Robert and she and her neighbours brought him to the house of John, beadle of the ward at that time, so that he could be kept in custody until the following day. She delivered him to the beadle, who received him but afterwards allowed him to escape. Because this took place during the day, and hue-and-cry was raised so that all the neighbours and everyone living in the ward of Joce fitz Peter, alderman at that time, were made fully aware of what had gone on, yet the wrongdoer was not detained after his capture, they are to be subject to judgement. When the beadle comes [before the justices] he is committed into the sheriffs' custody. Robert was in frankpledge in St. Pancras' parish, in the county of Middlesex. So the sheriff of Middlesex is instructed to make enquiry among his frankpledge and concerning his possessions, and to arrange to have him exacted and outlawed in the county court. Since the mayor and citizens testify that Robert was captured and taken to John the beadle's house at a time when he was not there, John is exonerated. Robert had no belongings. The chamberlain, the sheriffs, and the [ward] alderman knew nothing of this affair, nor was Robert in frankpledge or [resident] of the ward, for he was an outsider; therefore nothing [is due from them by way of fine]. Nothing from Andrew Bukerel, to whose household he belonged, since Andrew is dead'.

(The London Eyre 1244 in Chew and Weinbaum 1970 p21)

Appendix 3

Oaths of Constables 15th Century

As cited on-line in the History of Medieval Lynn. Medieval English Towns (Alsford 1998)

Early 15th Century

Sir, you shall well and truly, to the best of your ability, keep and sustain the peace; [you shall] make rightful arrests and attachments of trespassers, evil-doers, troublemakers, and disturbers of the peace, and bring them before the mayor or to the gaol of Lynn. And well and honestly undertake and direct the [night] watches when your turn comes, according to the Statute of Winchester. And, when you are asked or required, present to the mayor the names of all who default or resist, concerning [participation in] the watch. And honestly perform all duties associated with the office of constable to the best of your ability, so help you God.

Mid-15th Century

Sir, you shall truly, to the best of your ability, maintain and sustain the king's peace within this franchise. And rightful arrests of trespassers, evil-doers, troublemakers, disturbers and upsetters of the king's peace, and bring them before the mayor or to the gaol of Lynn. And undertake the watches in the time of year [to which your watch is assigned] and direct them as their turn comes in the franchise, according to the statute of Winchester. And once a year present or deliver up to mayor and community in the gildhall the names of any who are rebellious or default concerning the watch. And perform all duties associated with the office of constable within the franchise of Lynn. So help you God.

Appendix 3 (a)

The Thief Taker- A Case Study

The template for regularised payment for policing and subsequently their 'performance' in a role might be considered to have precedent in the position of *thief takers* who in addition to their employment by local people to resolve their issues with dishonest citizens would also be paid a bounty by local justices to manage more serious crime.

In order to cope with a dramatic increase in crime between the years of 1680 and 1720, an Act of Parliament, passed in 1697 had permitted reward to be granted to individuals who would seek out, capture and prosecute those suspected of serious offences such as Highway Robbery (an example of an early innovatory form of the use of private security). In addition to what would have been viewed as significant financial rewards, an added incentive of a free pardon for crimes already committed would also be offered to the '*thief takers*' of the time. Rather than providing an informal method of crime control however, the work of the thief takers tended to focus on the resolution of gang disputes with the thief takers selling out former competitors in order to increase their own share of the plunder.

Jonathan Wilde (1682-1725), one of the most infamous thief takers of the time was perceived by many to be responsible for much of the organised crime in the city of London. In some supposed contrast to the ineffective and sometimes corrupt practices of the Constables and Magistracy¹⁴³, Wilde spilt London into districts for the purposes of crime and acted as a paid consultant to gangs whom he had organised into areas of 'expertise' (burglary, robbery, theft etc.). He then dedicated an equivalent warehouse to handle and 'sell on' the proceeds of crime. His position as leader was consolidated by his ability to 'take' to justice and prosecute any potential competitor but additionally to market himself as an honest citizen who returned goods formerly stolen to their wealthy owners (for reward), and be an identified catalyst for change in the arrest and prosecution of London's underworld. Wilde's exploits were widely promoted by a newly established news media and as a consequence he notably, received the popular vote for his work in crime control¹⁴⁴. Honest members of the justice community however recognised and confronted Wilde's unlawful activities initially without success; it was only when changes and amendments to the law were made in order to accommodate Wilde's more devious crimes that he was eventually brought to justice.

¹⁴³ One of Wilde's competitors Charles Hitchen had become effectively the Chief of Police of London, the City's Under Marshall through bribery the role of the Under Marshall was to manage patrols and prosecute vagrants, prostitutes and unlicensed tradesman for which they were entitled to keep the fines demanded as penalty.

¹⁴⁴ Nearly three hundred years later, the Kray Twins, gang leaders in the East End of London similarly courted the press in order to minimise the more significant impact of their offences in the 1950s and 1960s

Appendix 3 (b)

Policing the ungovernable: The work of Justice Henry Norris

A Case Study

Ruth Paley's (1991) research, which focussed principally on the work and decisions of Justice Henry Norris and his peers at Hackney Petty Sessions indicate the extent to which ordered society, within one of the more popular areas of London, attempted to rule the 'ungovernable' at this time. Hackney, according to Paley, was one of London's 'resort' Boroughs, a veritable pleasure dome of rural and urban pursuits which appealed to all classes and stations within the community. Norris's records, which indicate diversity in the nature of its resident population, is microscopically reminiscent of justice in the Metropolis. Whilst it indicates that members of the Black and Irish population were not direct targets of community prejudice, comments made about members of the Jewish community who came before the Justices suggest that anti-Semitism was rife.

Norris's writings not only provide an example of the practices of the judiciary but also reflect the types of individual drawn to join its ranks. The genealogical roots of Henry Norris and others who appear at this time as the drivers of the Judiciary do not appear to be established in the titled classes but appear to be part of the group who might be referred to as 'trade with attitude', having

struggled to acquire wealth and station over several generations facilitated by their merchant abilities. By the seventeenth century having achieved their aspiration of becoming members of the 'landed gentry', they fought to rid themselves of their links with the lower classes and in addition to the trappings of wealth which provided the means for social elevation it was important to secure status which was usually linked to power and a sense of detachment from the masses. One means of achieving this status was to 'volunteer' as a local Magistrate.

Prior to the Middlesex Justices Act of 1792 it was suggested that the lower the social status of a 'Justice' the more likely he would wish to be seen as one. This might be reflected in his willingness to appropriately judge members of the community for alleged crime. The trappings of wealth were an obvious appendage to the role, as much of the judicial work, including the trials themselves, took place in a Magistrates home and, whilst willing to participate in this role, Paley identifies Norris as a Justice who had little sympathy with the plight of the poor. This is evidenced by his judgements within the petty sessions compared to records of other similar sessions in other areas of the country. Norris was however willing to risk scorn if he felt that members of the community were being potentially or unfairly disenfranchised or that the judicial process was being abused. This is exemplified by the arrest and treatment of George Scipio, one of the few *black* people residing in Hackney. Scipio was accused of theft; his arrest

was supported by very little evidence, only that a 'black man' had been seen at the crime. It is suggested that the judicial process was compromised in this case as Scipio never stood trial after Norris and the prosecutor came to an 'agreement' based upon the use of Norris's discretion. Scipio consequently remained a free man. .

Appendix 4

The Oath of Constables 1836

Used in Leicester at the inception of the new police

I promise and swear that I will well and truly serve our Sovereign Lord the King in the office of one of the constables of the Borough of Leicester until I shall be from thence discharged. During my continuance in office, I will in all things well and faithful demean and behave myself according to the best of my skill and judgment therein.

So help me God

Appendix 4(a)

Policing in Leicestershire:

An example of the organisation of early policing in the 'Shires'

The Lighting and Watching Act of 1833 gave the power to Inspectors to appoint additional watchmen and, rather than adopting the policing path of the Metropolitan area a number of communities in towns and counties outside London continued to reinforce the resources they already had in this way.

In nineteenth century Leicestershire for example, watchmen were scattered over the county (an area of 2,156Km²) but this *increase* in resources understandably made little impact on increasing levels of crime and public disquiet. This was possibly due to their intermittent service requirement, extensive patrol areas and poor wages.

Figure 4a.1: Policing resources in Leicestershire 1833; from Stanley (1972 p:22)

Rank	Pay	Location
3 Watchmen	1/6d a night Saturday nights in summer only Weekly 9/- Winter weekly	Ashby de-la -Zouch
2 Watchmen	£2 year Or 2/- per night when on duty	Castle Donnington
1 x day Watchman 1 night Watchmen	10/6d a week 16/- a week	Hinckley
1 Sergeant 5 Watchmen	Weekly 14/- summer 16/- winter Weekly 12/- summer 14/- winter	Loughborough.
1 Watchman	Weekly 12/- October to Lady-day	Market Harborough
2 Watchmen	16/- with a tied accommodation 18/-	Melton Mowbray

The problems of increasing levels of crime managed by ill equipped and possibly poorly motivated staff were also reflected in the City of Leicester.

Figure 4a.2: Policing the City of Leicester 1833; from Stanley (ND p:17)

Rank	Pay	Location
Head Constable	£50 per annum	12 Wards of Leicester
75 Parish Constables	Unknown	12 Wards of Leicester
5 Parish Watchmen	Unknown	
2 Watchman/Constables	Unknown	

As the tables 4a:1 and 4a:2 indicate, whilst officers were required to respond to crimes and issues relating to public anxiety over large areas of the county, they were generally poorly organised and badly paid. Stanley (ND p17) suggests that, *'Records reveal that the duties of these Ward Constables and watchmen were inadequate, ineffective and ill performed to such an extent that some were even indicted for neglect.'*

The 1835 Metropolitan Corporation Act initially provided the legal impetus to set up 173 local borough councils and with them 'local' constabularies. In 1836 a decision was made by the new Leicester Corporation to appoint a Chief Constable of Leicester who would develop a new police force in Leicester city. In the same year a Royal Commission was established with the intention of reviewing all available evidence in order to;

'Establish the best means of establishing an efficient constabulary force in England and Wales' (Critchley 1979 p69). Edwin Chadwick consequently (1839), published the results which identified the lack of a cohesive structure to prevent or combat crime and recommended a single national police force which removed the control (and any input) of local magistrates, who at the time had significant levels of influence over constables, from the running of the proposed police force. This concept was rejected by the magistracy prior to its first reading in Parliament and recognising the political issues involved, Chadwick revised his recommendations leaving out those deemed controversial in order to get the County Police Bill, (which in an additional compromise became a permissive as opposed to a compulsory Act of Parliament), passed in 1839

In context, the Britain that was working to introduce a more formal structure of policing was still working, at this time, to abolish slavery. The Jamaica Acts which gave freedom to colonial slaves and apprentices were passed in 1839 the same year as the Rural Constabularies Act. Meanwhile Leicester

City's newly appointed Chief Constable, Frederick Goodyer, a former Metropolitan police officer, had quickly reviewed the geography of the new force area, divided it into thirty one beats and recruited fifty new police officers¹⁴⁵ to patrol it in line with requirements of the 1835 Act (Stanley 1972).

Figure 4a.3: Salaries of the new police in Leicester city 1836: Stanley (1972)

Rank	Wage per week
Chief Constable	£1. 18s. 6d
Sergeant	£1. 1s 6d
Constable	18/-

This unfortunately still left the county with inadequate levels of provision and is representative of a two tier system of policing which became manifest throughout England and Wales at the time.

By 1839 the Rural Constabularies Act continued to encourage the development of local policing but out of a total of fifty four counties only thirty six had taken up this 'option'. In Leicester 'shire', mainly as a result of continued levels of crime and civil unrest, a decision was made in 1839 by local magistrates to utilise the opportunities provided by the County Police Act 1839 to inaugurate a new county police force. This was based on the London model and facilitated the appointment of twenty four 'Constables' (inclusive of six Superintendents) to patrol and thus manage levels of crime in the rural locations of Leicestershire (Stanley 1972).

¹⁴⁵ This included the appointment of five police Sergeants

Appendix 5

Superintendent Dore: An early example of inequality in the ranks A Case Study.

The 'chronicle' of Superintendent Dore of the Hampshire police reflects the inequalities apparent at the time not only within the Hampshire force area but also between forces, in spite of the work of Her Majesty's Inspectors to ensure equity. Charles Dore joined Hampshire Constabulary in 1840 one year after its formation in December 1839. In 1839 the Rural Constabularies Act¹⁴⁶ had encouraged local Justices to 'maintain' a paid police force and it was decided that Hampshire would recruit one officer per one thousand members of its local population to be funded by local council rates. (Hants Police History Society 2007)

The resulting rank structure was as follows:

One Chief Constable, fourteen Superintendents, fourteen Constables (first Class), twenty-eight Constables (second class), and finally, forty-nine Constables (third Class).

Achieving, after some years of unblemished service, the rank of Superintendent, Charles Dore was understandably disappointed when in 1856, (the year of the County and Borough Police Act) an officer by the name of Captain Forrest was

¹⁴⁶ Confusingly referred to in some references as the County Police Act (1839)

appointed as Chief Constable and it quickly became apparent that Forrest, an authoritarian personality, was prepared to sacrifice staff for his personal ambitions. In 1859 Dore, who was only forty five, was sacked from his post as Superintendent by Forrest due to 'organisational' requirements and he was replaced in post by a younger officer who happened to be Forrest's personal friend.

In spite of intervention by other officers which resulted in the offer of a position with Devon police, Dore;

'.....did not feel in his place there, and felt that the station and authority of superintendents in Devon by no means compared with those attaching to the same rank in Hampshire'. (Hants Police History Society 2007)

A subsequent payment of £300 from the force superannuation fund by Forrest to Dore (which may have been illegal), did not serve to restore Dore feelings of self-worth after this injustice and as a consequence;

'Dore remained a miserable man, broken in health, uprooted and concerned (as many of those who spoke on his behalf were) with the future upkeep of his nine children.' (Hants Police History Society 2007)

Appendix 5 (a)

John Syme an early example of Poor Police Management.

A Case Study

The Case of Metropolitan Police Inspector John Syme exemplifies all of the elements that were deemed bad about the management of police officers, their discipline, grievances and the impact of class and the rank structure in the early 1900s.

In the early hours of the morning of 19th August 1909 two police constables had arrested two drunken men for attempting to break in to a house only to later discover that one of the men was actually trying to enter his own home. Neither the man's neighbours who had been awoken by the noise of the arrest or the man himself wished to make a complaint. As a result of this, Station Inspector Syme felt that it was not appropriate for the two constables to be disciplined and his investigation of the situation resulted in no further action to be taken (Refused Charge). In spite of this, Syme's superiors decided to discipline and reprimand the officers. Syme objected to this action, which he believed to be unfair and undermining, and, as a result he was swiftly redeployed and labelled a trouble maker. This led to a series of further complaints by Syme first to the Commissioner of Police and then to the Home Secretary himself.

After a disciplinary hearing Syme's actions were deemed inappropriate and he was reduced in rank. Incensed, Syme railed against the system and threatened to take the case up with his MP; as a result of this he was dismissed from service. In spite of the backing of the public, the media and the police rank and file Syme's behaviour was deemed unreasonable and consequently, after threats to the Home Secretary and a former superior in 1911 he was imprisoned for six months. This case served to highlight to officers not only the high-handed management of staff and their lack of support in post but also a lack of a suitable means to resolve their genuine concerns, (Emsley 2009 Pp174-175).

The first police trade union, (the Metropolitan Police Union) was the result.

Appendix 6

Oath of Attestation for the Modern Police

From Schedule 4 of the Police Act 1996

"I do solemnly and sincerely declare and affirm that I will well and truly serve the Queen in the office of constable, with fairness, integrity, diligence and impartiality, upholding fundamental human rights and according equal respect to all people; and that I will, to the best of my power, cause the peace to be kept and preserved and prevent all offences against people and property; and that while I continue to hold the said office I will, to the best of my skill and knowledge, discharge all the duties thereof faithfully according to the law"

Oath from the *Police Reform Act 2002*

'I... of... do solemnly and sincerely declare and affirm that I will well and truly serve the Queen in the office of constable, with fairness, integrity, diligence and impartiality, upholding fundamental human rights and according equal respect to all people; and that I will, to the best of my power, cause the peace to be kept and preserved and prevent all offences against people and property; and that while I continue to hold the said office I will, to the best of my skill and knowledge, discharge all the duties thereof faithfully according to law '

Appendix 6 (a)

Operation Swamp 81: A brief contextual overview

In April 1981 a specialist team of 120 uniformed and plain clothed officers were brought together into the area under the heading of Operation Swamp 81 and tasked to reduce street robbery, a crime on the increase in the area. Their orders were to stop, question and search anyone who looked suspicious. Over periods of less than a week 943 people were stopped 118 were arrested and 75 were subsequently charged for criminal offences - only one for robbery. Over half of those stopped were black. After such a historically poor relationship between the police and minority communities a community response to these police actions was inevitable.

A report by the Institute of Race Relations in 1979:2 had noted the lack of respect by police for the civil liberties of members of Black and Asian communities. Hunte (1966) recorded the police practice of '*Nigger hunting*' which had been documented by the West Indian Standing Council. With such an overt form of oppressive police practice visible in Brixton within Operation Swamp it was not perhaps surprising that members of local black communities responded with violence. This response was subsequently cascaded throughout the country as Black, Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities rioted against oppressive

police tactics. The subsequent report by Lord Scarman made a number of recommendations which included the recruitment of more BAME police officers changes to the law and race relations training to serving police officers.

It is interesting to note however that research undertaken by Paoline et al (2000) in the USA proposes that; *'Changes in the composition (i.e., the race, sex, and education) of police personnel, as well as philosophical and organizational changes associated with community policing, could be expected to further fragment police culture and to shift the distribution of police attitudes'*. This appears to support Scarman's recommendations whilst challenging the conventional wisdom of the impact of the police culture.

Appendix 6 (b & c)

The Impact of Organisational Culture in Police Training: Evidence of Cultural Barriers to Change: Two Case Studies

(b): Initial Police Training -A Case Study example

In 2007 whilst engaged in the teaching of the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP) locally, the author had to abandon the use of experienced police officers as *Vocational Assessors* for an assessment component of the programme because of the levels of negative and hyper critical comments within their feedback to Student Officers.

The assessment required groups of Student Officers to undertake a presentation in which they reviewed the processes involved in the police response to the crime of burglary. In responding to the challenges of the presentation requirements, the student officers were forced to consider police process from the perspective of the public confidence around police practice, in addition to practice itself. In doing this they were obliged to innovate and explore their impact as officers in society in order to meet all practice based and academic requirements.

The Police *Vocational Assessors* brought in to provide feedback did not feel that this element was necessary, but did not stop their critical feedback at that point. As a result of their perceptions that the presentations were insufficiently '*police focussed*', they sought to significantly undermine those Student officers who worked to emphasise the importance of community based working practices. The student officers were consequently unsure about what was important. The need to fit in with an organisational culture which viewed its impact on society as immaterial to the occupational task made a significant impact on the student group. For some students present, it reaffirmed the negative stereotypes associated with policing and provided them with role models whose behaviour and attitudes were inward facing; whilst for others, (a number of whom have subsequently resigned from policing), the attitudes reflected by the behaviours of the police assessors exemplified the reasons why change was needed.

The case provides evidence that for some officers, double loop learning might be impossible to achieve. It also provides an example of culture as part of an undermining organisational shadow system.

(c): Police Management Training -A Case Study example

The undermining behaviours reflected in the previous case study are not unique experiences within the undergraduate Foundation Degree processes. Surprisingly they were also apparent in the responses to management and leadership teaching undertaken in another force area.

The delivery of academic learning materials that would develop Sergeant Ranks and above began predictably with problems as some officers felt that they were being forced to engage academically when they generally saw little point in any of the process. Whilst some of the students were respectful and engaged reluctantly in the learning activity others did not, and supported the statement made by one very intimidating sergeant who came to his first lecture dressed entirely in motorcycle leathers and declared to the class that he would rather *'have his bollocks tied to a barbed wire fence'* than engage in any form of this nonsense.

Appendix 7 (a)

The unpredictability of Police work (i)-

Deaths Associated with the Presence of Harold Shipman

Based on Smith (2005)

Year	Number of complaints	Complaint re Deaths	Event
1974	27	2	No sinister deaths confirmed prior to 1973- 1974 Shipman becomes GP No sinister deaths confirmed
1975	34	4	1 sinister death Shipman taking opiates and sent to psychiatric clinic after it was discovered that large amounts of controlled drugs were being prescribed by him
1976	46	1	No sinister deaths Convicted at Halifax Magistrates Court of dishonestly obtaining drugs, forgery of National Health Service prescriptions and unlawful possession of pethidine
1977	32	1	1 sinister death. Change of employment location
1978	39	1	4 sinister deaths
1979	22	1	5 sinister deaths
1980	34	3	7 sinister deaths
1981	29	1	N/A
1982	24	0	4 sinister deaths
1983	32	0	N/A
1984	36	0	12 sinister deaths
1985	27	0	11 patients killed
1986	14	0	8 patients killed
1987	19	0	8 patients killed
1988	20	0	12 deaths -Change of data gathering methods re complaints
1989	61	N/A	12 deaths
1990	33	N/A	
1991	62	N/A	
1992	58	N/A	Change of employment location 71 deaths over the next period- note of regular pattern of killing linked to access to diamorphine
1993	47	N/A	16 deaths
1994	56	N/A	
1995	63	N/A	
1996	22	N/A	
1997	N/A	N/A	
1998	N/A	N/A	Concern over excessive numbers of deaths leading to arrest of Shipman

Appendix 7 (b)

The unpredictability of Police work (ii)

Transcript from the Inquest of Jean Charles Menezes

From (Riley and Meadows 1997)

"The team leader 'Derek' almost immediately
10 telephoned" and he had a request for clearer directions
11 about this person, and for a second time within seconds,
12 is this fair --
13 A. It would have been, yes, sir.
14 Q. -- you are then going to the senior officers again
15 saying effectively -- well, I don't know how you
16 referred to Derek but anyway: "Derek wants a clearer
17 picture of what he has to do"?
18 A. Yes, sir, a clearer direction, as I said, sir, yes.
19 Q. It's quite clear whoever it is within the group you are
20 actually speaking to, that they have heard because the
21 request is for a clearer picture from the surveillance
22 team?
23 A. Yes, sir, that's correct.
24 Q. That's the second occasion on which they are alerted,
25 and then you make a reference to this:
7
1 "Although the noise level in the room did drop, it
2 was still such that communicating with senior officers
3 was by shouting across the room."
4 That's how it was, isn't it?
5A. Yes, sir, I said I raised my voice to make sure I was
6 heard or at least think I was heard, certainly.
7 Q. All right, I am not going to quibble about raising voice
8 or shouting, because Brian behind you also describes

9 that's exactly what you did do, raise your voice and in
10 fact waved, so there was no doubt that you had something
11 to say. Do you remember waving to them?
12 A. I remember at times in the morning raising my hand.
13. I can't say this was specifically one of those times but
14 I do remember doing that, certainly, yes.

Appendix 8

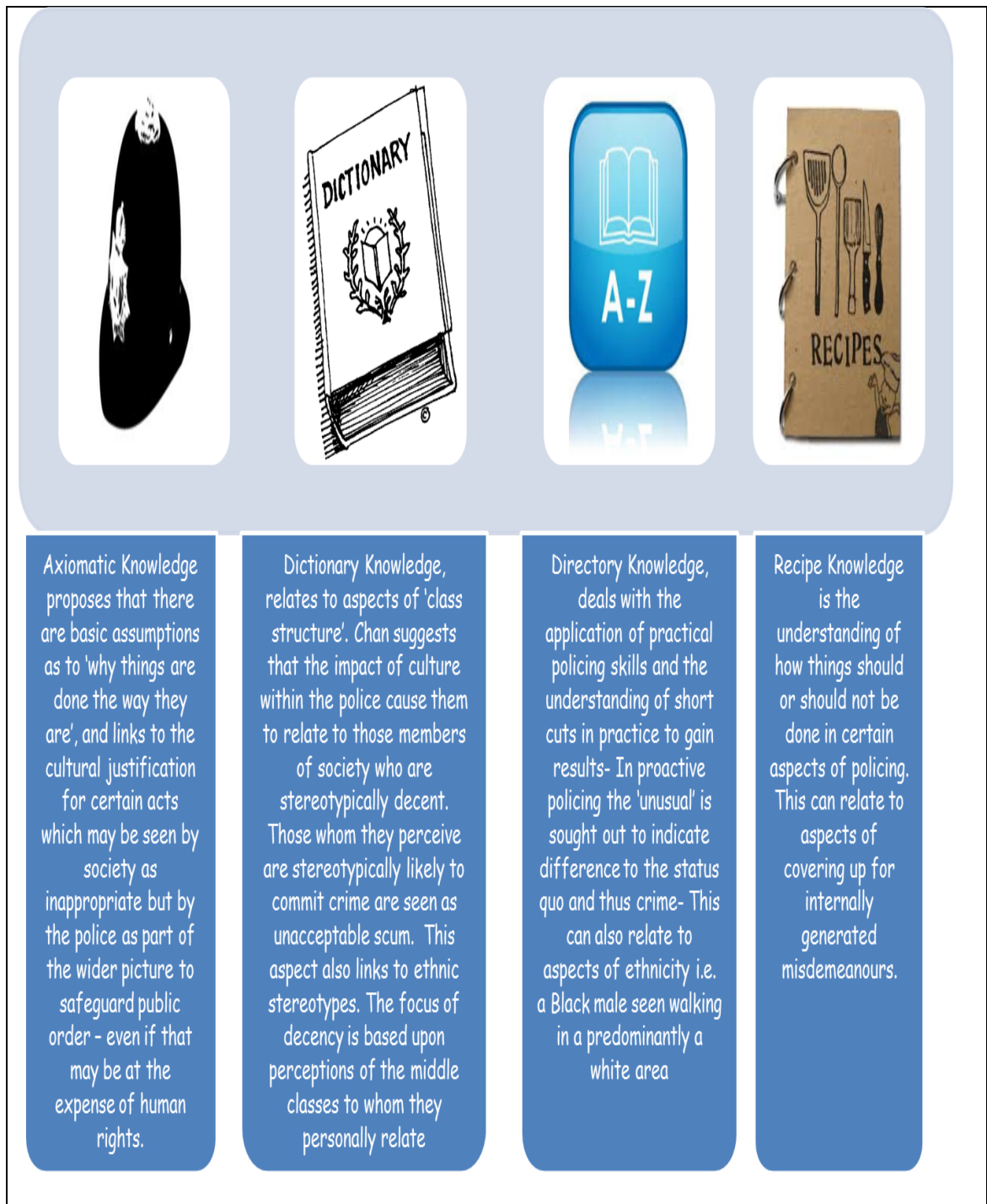
Changing Police Culture- a research example of the adoption of a theoretical framework to study change management in policing. A Case Study Based on Chan (2005)

In 'Changing Police Culture', Chan (2005), discusses change management processes in the Australian police force which are linked essentially to culture and, in order to do so, she adopts a theoretical framework accommodated by Bourdieu (1990) from an original concept proposed by, Mauss. (1934.), and advanced by Sackman (1991). This section will highlight Chans work and in doing so suggest how techniques adapted from research into complex systems might be additionally used to explore her research methods.

Originally Bourdieu suggests that the interpretive and creative aspects of culture or multiple cultures within an organisation can be contained by the boundaries of Field and Habitus. Chan links this to an interaction between strategies of change within a socio-political context and police organisational knowledge. She has furthermore converted the notion of habitus in this situation to distil an appreciation of police culture and employs and further defines the term *knowledge* by means of a series of categories; *Dictionary, Directory, Recipe and Axiomatic*.

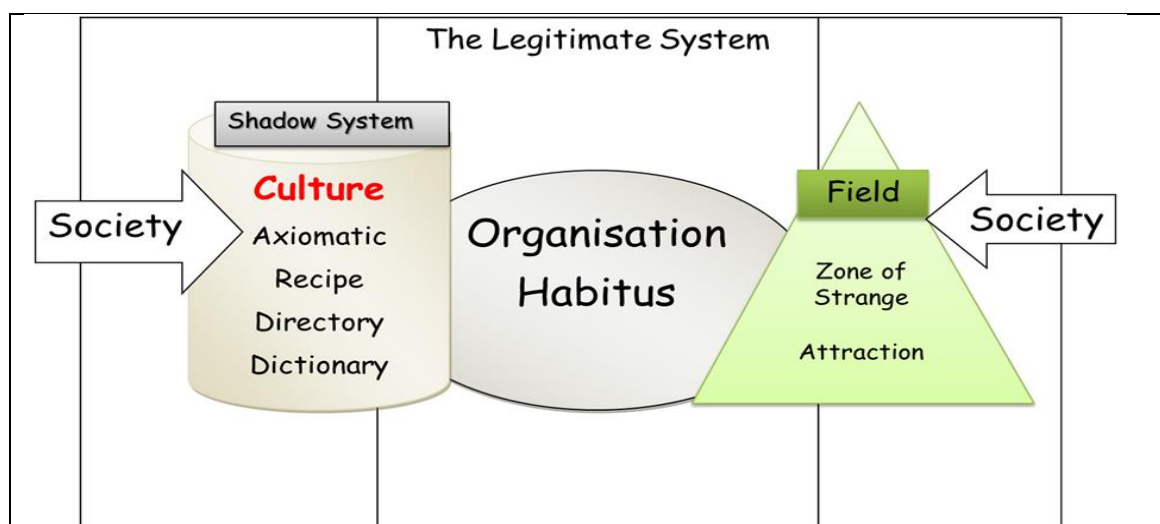
The following diagram provides a distillation and basic explanation of these concepts which than then be used as a foundation for methodological comparison.

Figure 8a): Principles of 'Changing Police Culture' Theoretical Framework developed from Chan (2005)



For the purposes of methodological comparison the following diagram shows elements of Chan's theoretical framework which have been transposed on to a 'complex' framework suggested by Burns (2002).

Figure 8.b): The Influences on change in Policing developed from concepts originally identified by Chan (2005) and Burns (2002)



Chan analyses these opposing images of the reform process by means of the changing cultural knowledge within the organisation. In spite of significant momentum behind police reform Chan suggests that change might not manifest itself at a relevant level because the focus may be on the Habitus rather than the Field. In Chan's study the various components of culture/knowledge convert into barriers for adopting change whilst similarly Burns warns organisations of the dilemma of single loop learning and the potential for ossification caused by shadow schema.

The results of Chan's research suggest that the role of culture can lead an organisation such as the police service along a disastrous route in search of change. In the results of her Australian police study Chan describes the impact of the category police '*knowledge*' on change progress within each focal point of her study.

In attempts to integrate change within the category of *Axiomatic Knowledge*, Chan found that officers focused upon the essential reason for the role of the police in relation to function and objective. As a consequence key priorities were introduced of: crime prevention and community involvement, with community based policing as the guiding strategy for policing.

The concept of *Directory Knowledge* provided for a re-defining of the community and was supposed to focus upon police community partnerships. Chan reported however that this aspect was mainly viewed as a community relations exercise by the police who tended to consult with the middle classes and used token minority groups within their consultative committees. Recruitment and training was also supposed to make an impact upon the *Directory knowledge* but again Chan reported that this too was only partially successful in changing definitions as, once in the police culture, doing *real police work* new recruits adopted old frames of reference. The expectation that the implementation of change would impact upon practice was also apparently doomed to failure as police officers adapted old practices and applied it to new situations.

As a result of the inadequate impact of changes to the other categories there was no impact at all on *Recipe Knowledge* as, according to Chan, there was insufficient motivation to provide the appropriate level of change to this underpinning structure.

Chan notes in her conclusion that her methods indicate that a united approach to the management of change within the police, might be realistically framed within the theoretical construct of Bourdieu's (1990) and Sackmann's (1991). This example provides evidential support for the adoption of alternative theoretical constructs to be applied to change management within a frame originally conceived by Bourdieu's et al. It is not therefore unreasonable that relevant aspects of Chan's creation might be linked to others in a theoretical hybrid of Chaos theory.

Appendix 9 (a)

Skills for Justice: Provide an initial response to incidents- National Occupational Standard unit- From Skills for Justice

CD1.1 Gather information and plan a response

CD1.2 Respond to incidents

2C1: Provide an initial police response to incidents –

Final version approved February 2008

Summary

This unit covers providing an initial response to incidents. The unit is not rank specific and applies to all persons responding to incidents. The incidents covered by this unit include; crime, non-crime and traffic incidents. You must be able to deal with these types of incidents.

You will need to be able to gather information on the incident. Such information may include, for example: history, dangers and witness information. Based on the information you have obtained you will need to be able to establish the nature of the incident, and plan your actions accordingly. This process will often happen fairly quickly on route to the incident.

You will need to take into account the health and safety of self and others during the incident. If it is a major or critical incident, and you are the first on the scene, you will need to take interim control until relieved by the appropriate person.

There are two elements:

CD1.1 Gather information and plan a response

CD1.2 Respond to incidents

<p><u>Element</u></p> <p>CD1.1 Gather information and plan a response</p> <p>Performance Criteria</p> <p>To meet the standard, you</p> <p>1identify and assess information on the incident</p> <p>2establish the nature of the incident based on the available information</p> <p>3obtain any necessary additional information for the response to the incident</p> <p>4prioritise and plan your actions according to the nature of the incident</p> <p>5respond to the incident within the appropriate timescales and according to current policy</p> <p>6provide the necessary information to others regarding the incident</p> <p>Range</p> <p>1 Incident</p> <p>a crime</p> <p>b non-crime</p> <p>c traffic</p> <p>2 Others</p> <p>a members of the public</p> <p>b control room</p> <p>c line management</p> <p>d other specialists, including external agencies</p> <p>e colleagues</p>	<p><u>Element</u></p> <p>CD1.2 Respond to incidents</p> <p>Performance Criteria</p> <p>To meet the standard, you</p> <p>1take into account the health and safety of yourself and others during the incident</p> <p>2communicate any required information and intelligence to others attending the scene</p> <p>3identify and prioritise any casualties, providing any necessary assistance</p> <p>4deal with individuals in an ethical manner, recognising their needs with respect to race, diversity and human rights</p> <p>5take control of incidents in accordance with current policy</p> <p>6challenge and deal appropriately with any unacceptable behaviour</p> <p>7use appropriate personal safety skills in accordance with current policy, legislation and training</p> <p>8liaise and communicate effectively with other agencies or partnerships relevant to the incident</p> <p>9identify and request any other resources required for the incident</p> <p>10identify and record any information, intelligence and sources from the incident</p> <p>11take any necessary steps to protect the scene of the incident and preserve evidence</p> <p>12fully document all decisions, actions, options and rationale in accordance with current policy and legislation, and submit for supervision within agreed time scales</p> <p>Range</p> <p>1 Incident</p> <p>a crime</p> <p>b non-crime</p> <p>c traffic</p>
---	--

<p>CD1 Provide an initial response to incidents</p> <p>Knowledge and Understanding</p> <p>To meet the standard, you need to know and understand</p> <p>Legal and organisational requirements</p> <p>1current, relevant legislation, policies, procedures, codes of practice and guidelines for responding to incidents</p> <p>2current, relevant legislation and organisational requirements in relation to race, diversity and human rights</p> <p>3current, relevant legislation and organisational requirements in relation to health and safety</p> <p>4the importance of adhering to national guidelines relating to working appropriately with children and young people</p> <p>Information and intelligence gathering</p> <p>5how to gather and assess information about an incident</p>	<p>CD1 Provide an initial response to incidents</p> <p>Evidence Requirements</p> <p>1Simulation is not allowed for any performance evidence within this unit.</p> <p>2You must practically demonstrate in your work that you have met the standard for providing an initial police response to incidents on at least 3 separate occasions.</p> <p>3Element CD1.1 Gather information and plan a response</p> <p>From the range in element 1 you must show that you:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - have planned a response to 2 of the 3 types of incidents* - have provided the necessary information to all others <p>4Element CD1.2 Respond to incidents</p> <p>From the range in element 2 you must show that you:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - have responded to 2 of the 3 types of incidents* <p>*Items from the range not covered by performance evidence should be supported by knowledge evidence.</p>
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<p>6how to use information and intelligence to plan your response</p> <p>7how to identify potential intelligence sources</p> <p>Liaison and communication with others</p> <p>8how to communicate effectively with control rooms</p> <p>9the types of specialists that may need to be brought into the incident</p> <p>10the types of other agencies that may be involved in the incident</p> <p>11systems and protocols for communicating with other agencies</p> <p>The local community</p> <p>12the composition and diversity of the local community</p> <p>Responding to incidents</p> <p>13the types of incidents you are likely to attend, including; crime, non-crime and traffic</p> <p>14the procedures for responding to different types of incidents</p> <p>15your role and the courses of action to take in the event of a critical incident</p> <p>16how to provide support to victims, witnesses and other individuals at the incident</p> <p>17the type of support you can provide to victims, witnesses and other individuals at the incident</p> <p>18how to deal with suspects who may have been involved in the incident</p> <p>19how to challenge and deal with unacceptable behaviour</p> <p>20the personal safety techniques (including the use of force) that may be used and when it is appropriate to use them</p> <p>21how to identify and take into account the health and safety of self and others</p> <p>22how to administer first aid within the limits of your training</p> <p>23how to protect the scene of an incident and preserve evidence</p> <p>Documentation</p> <p>24the types of documentation that must be completed</p> <p>25how to complete incident related documentation</p> <p>26the time scales within which documentation must be completed, filed and forwarded to others</p>	
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This unit was developed by Skills for Justice.

Appendix 10 (a)

Graphical Representations of data sets

Public & Police Sample Introductory Questions

Public Sample

Figure 10 (a).1: Gender Comparisons between sample group and population of Leicester

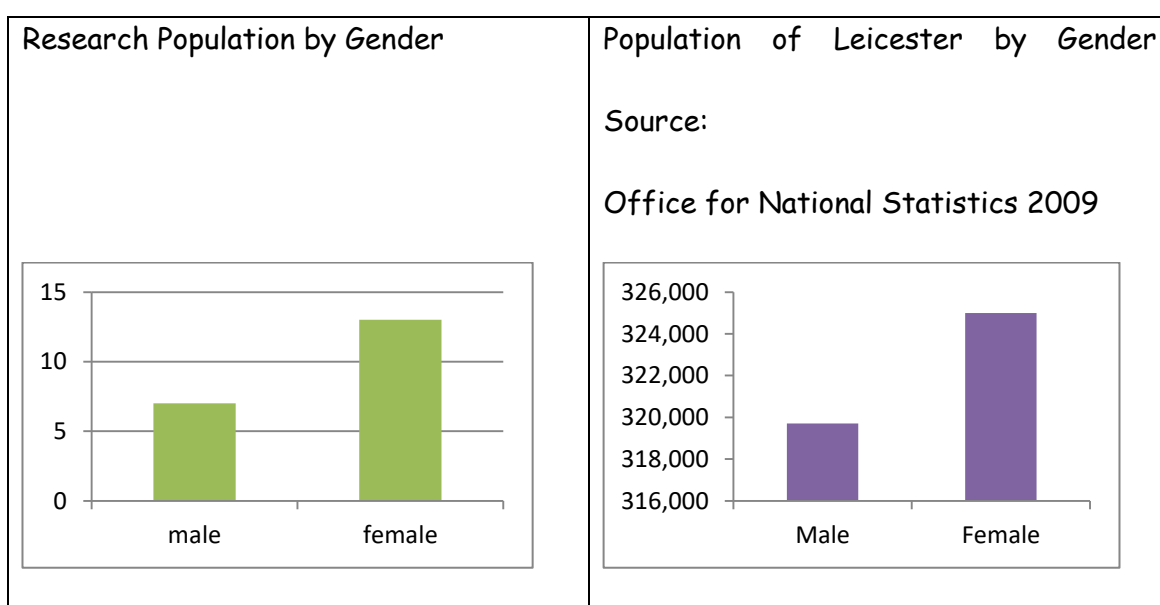


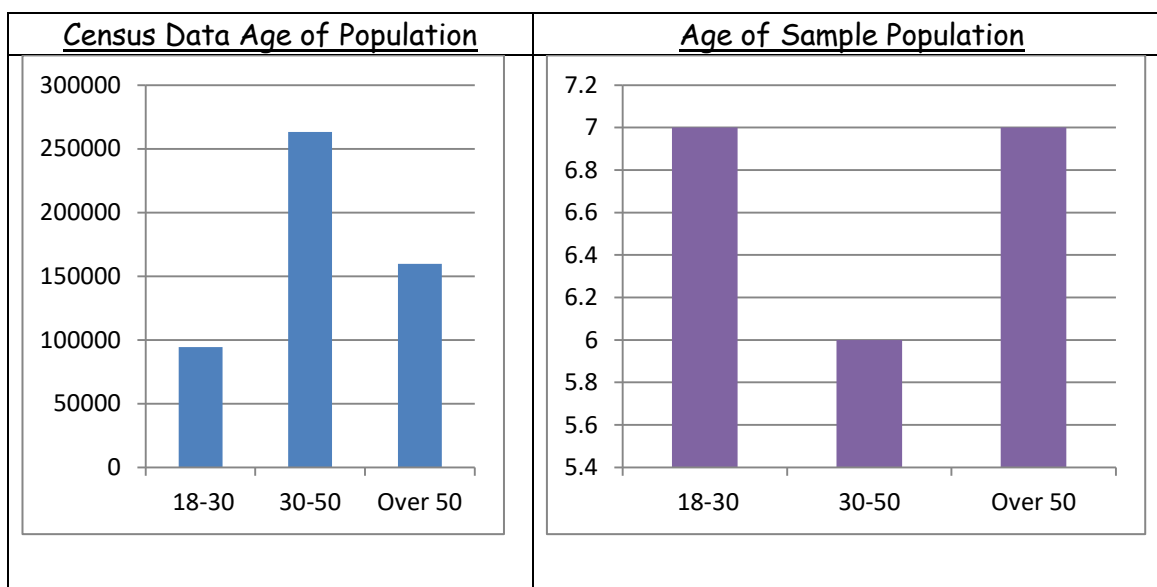
Figure 10a.2: Age Range of Public Sample

Age 18-30	30-50	Over 50
7	6	7

Figure 10a.3: Census Data 2011 Population of Leicestershire Age Range

Age 18-30	30-50	Over 50
94,490	262,124	159,791

Figure 10a.4: Census population age range compared to research sample



Police Sample

Figure 10a.5: Profile of Leicestershire Constabulary Staff as of 31/3/2010 when the research commenced

Rank	Police Officer	PCSO	Total
Number	2,320	230	2,550

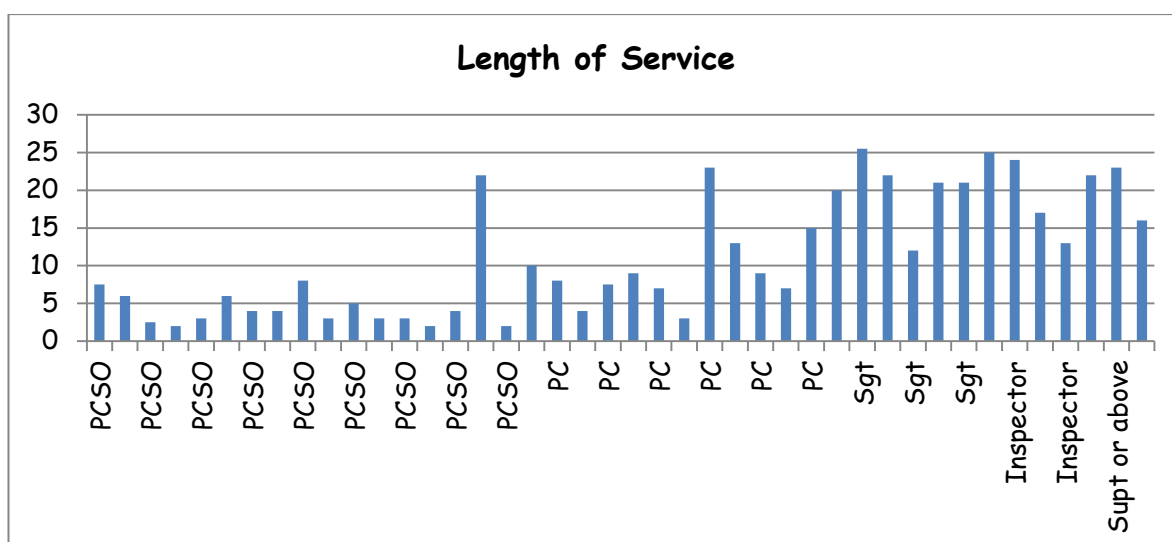
Figure 10a.6: Leicestershire Constabulary Staff Research Sample

Rank	Police Officer	PCSO	Total
Number	25	17	42

Figure 10a.7: *Leicestershire Constabulary Staff Respondents within Police Sample by Rank*

Managerial staff			Front Line Staff		
Rank	Superintendent	Inspector	Sergeant	Police Constable	PCSO
Number	2	4	7	12	17

Figure 10a.8: *Leicestershire Constabulary Research Sample- Staff Length of Service*



Response to the Questions

Figure 10a.9: Leicestershire Constabulary Staff Response to Scenario Questions by Rank

Scenario	Supt	Insp	Sgt	PC	PCSO	Total
1	2	4	5	8	13	32
2	1	1	4	12	12	30
3	2	3	6	6	15	32
4	1	3	5	10	10	29
5	2	3	5	8	12	30
6	2	3	4	8	12	29
7	2	2	5	7	13	29
Final	2	3	6	10	14	35
Total	14	22	40	69	101	246

Figure 10a.10: Leicestershire Constabulary Staff Response to Scenario Questions: by Rank

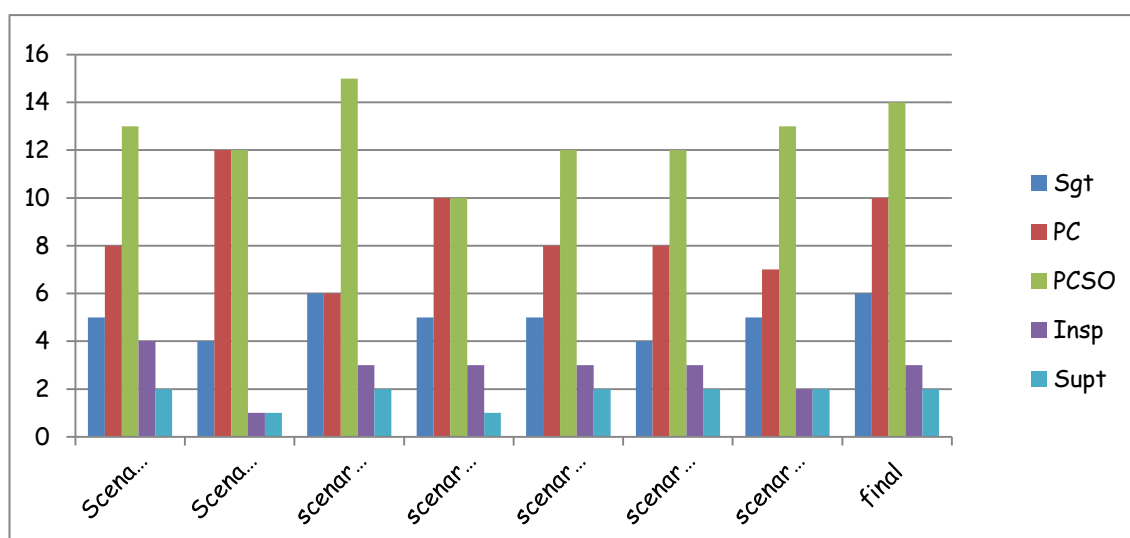


Figure 10a.11: Response to Scenario Questions: Public Response

Scenario	All	18-30	30-50	Over 50	Total
1	20	7	6	7	20
2	20	7	6	7	20
3	20	7	6	7	20
4	20	7	6	7	20
5	19	7	6	6	19
6	17	5	6	6	17
7	17	5	6	6	17
Final	20	7	6	7	20
Total	153	52	48	53	153

Figure 10a.12: Response to Scenario Questions: Public Response Distribution of response to scenarios by age.

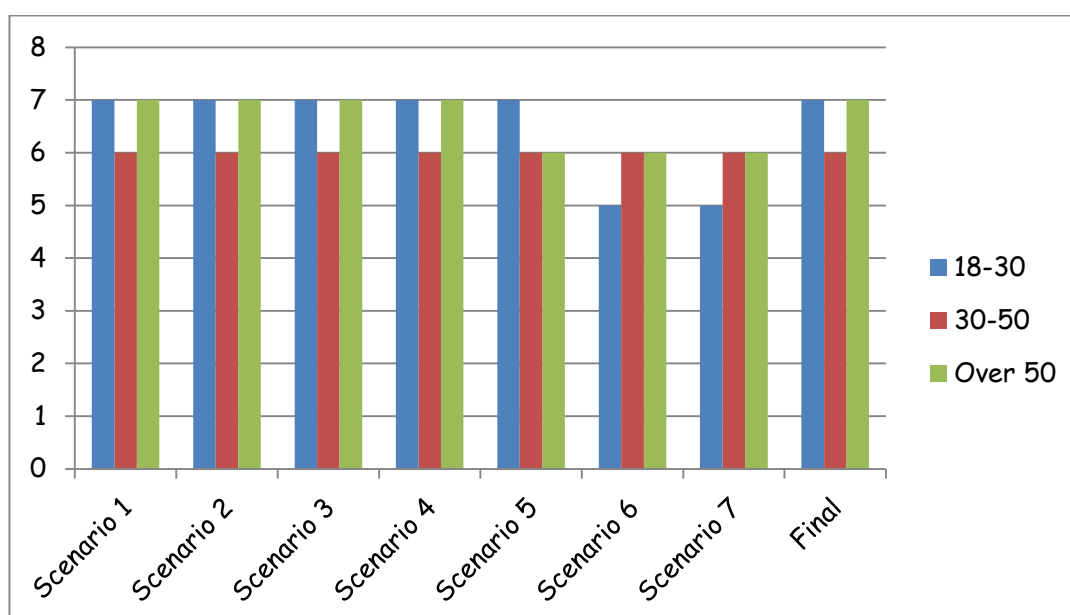


Figure 10a.13: Response to Scenario Questions:

Previous Experience of Policing

Public		Police	
Yes	No	Yes	No
16 (80%)	4 (20%)	31 (74%)	11 (26%)

Figure 10a.14: Response to Scenario Questions:

Do the Police do a Good Job?

Public		Police	
Yes	No	Yes	No
16 (80%)	4 (20%)	37 (88%)	5 (12%)

Figure 10a.15: Response to Scenario Questions:

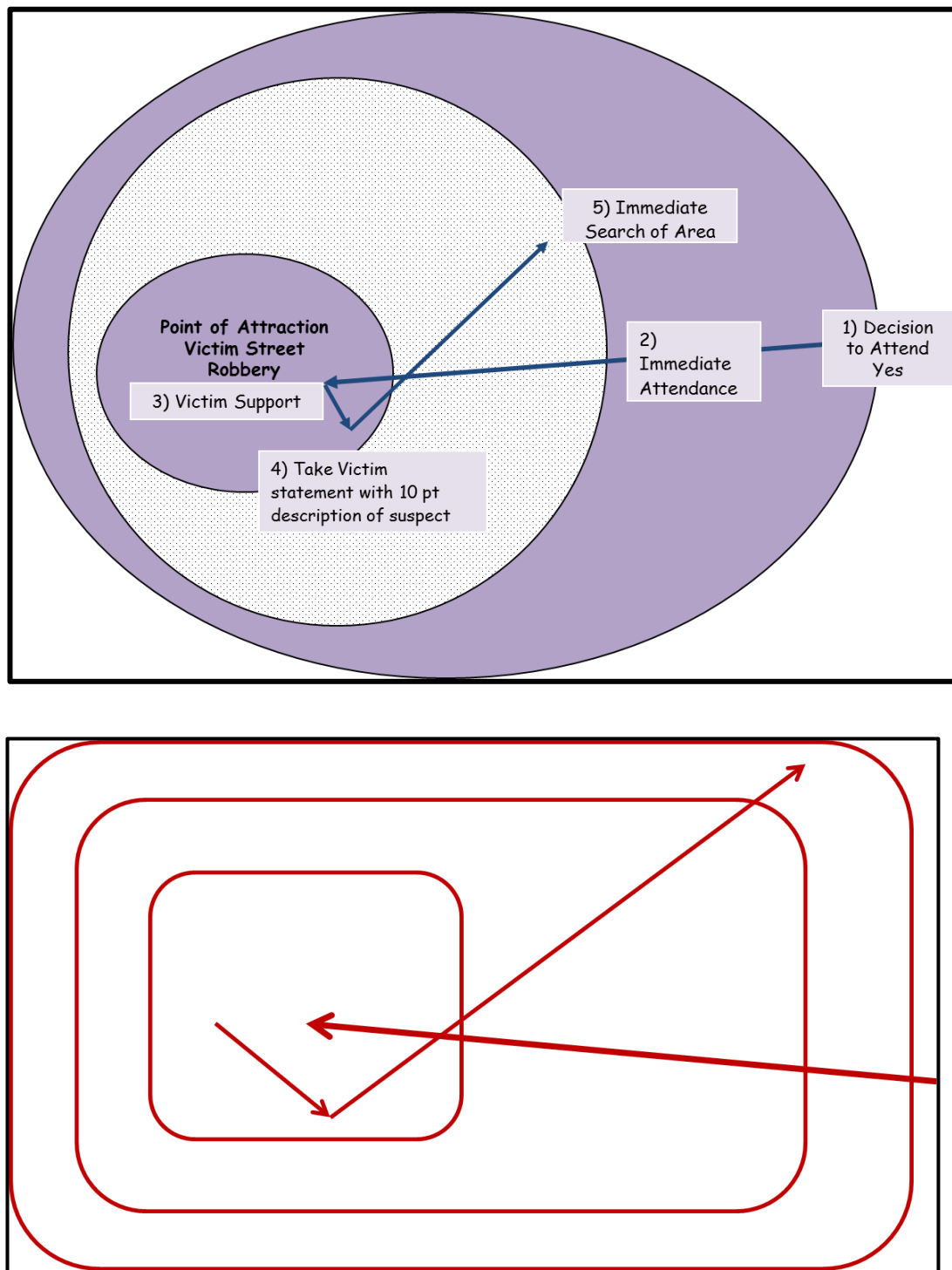
Total number of respondents by Gender

Police Sample		Public sample	
Male	Female	Male	Female
31	11	7	13

Appendix 10 (b)

Copies of 'Control' Maps - Chapter 8

Figure 8.3: Map 2: Control Mapping for Scenario 2 'Street Robbery'¹⁴⁷ with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process



¹⁴⁷ PCSO actions not deemed appropriate by control in this scenario. . Police officer actions indicated by blue arrow

Figure 8.4: Map 3: Control Mapping for Scenario 3 Locked Out with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process

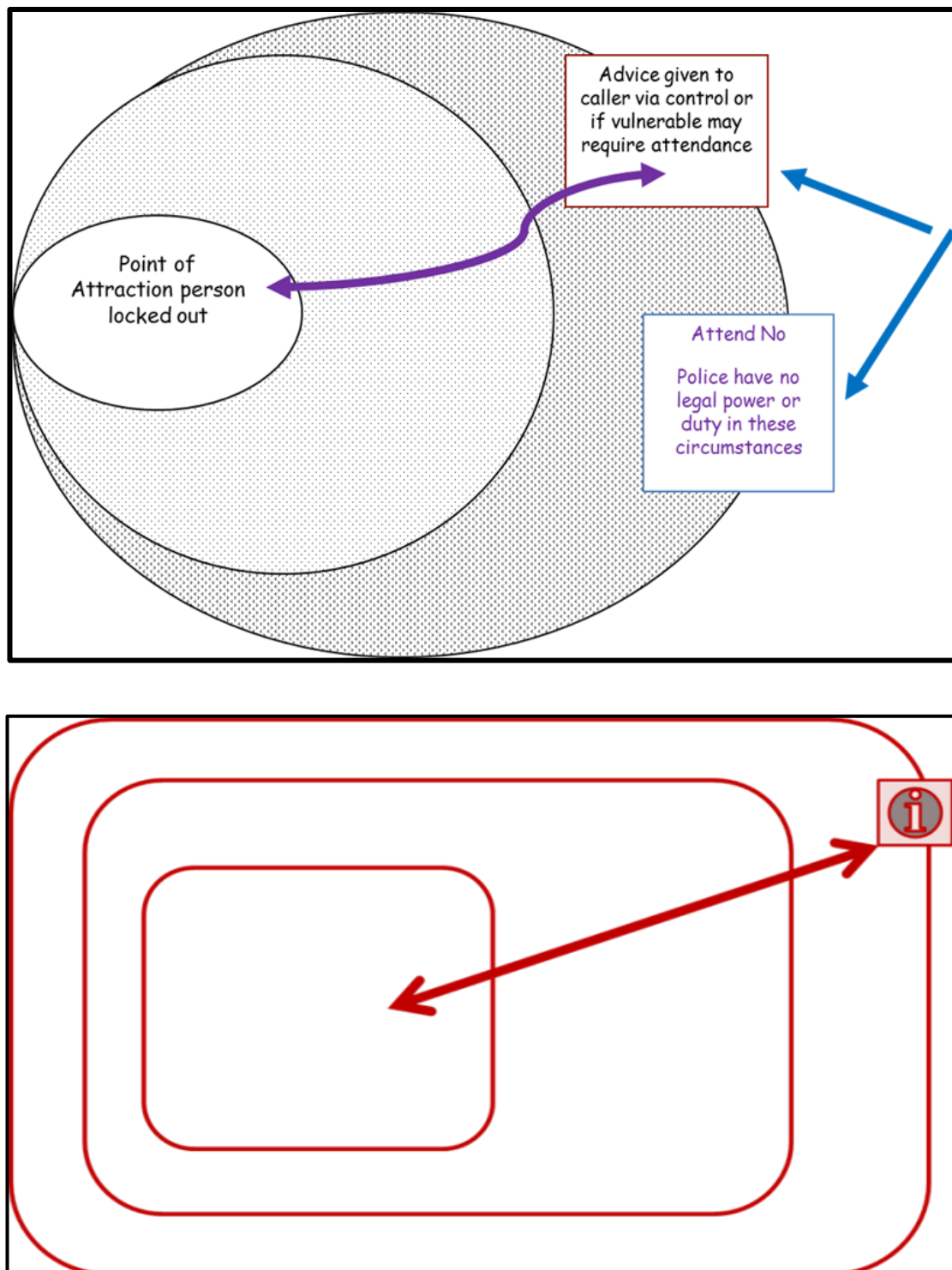
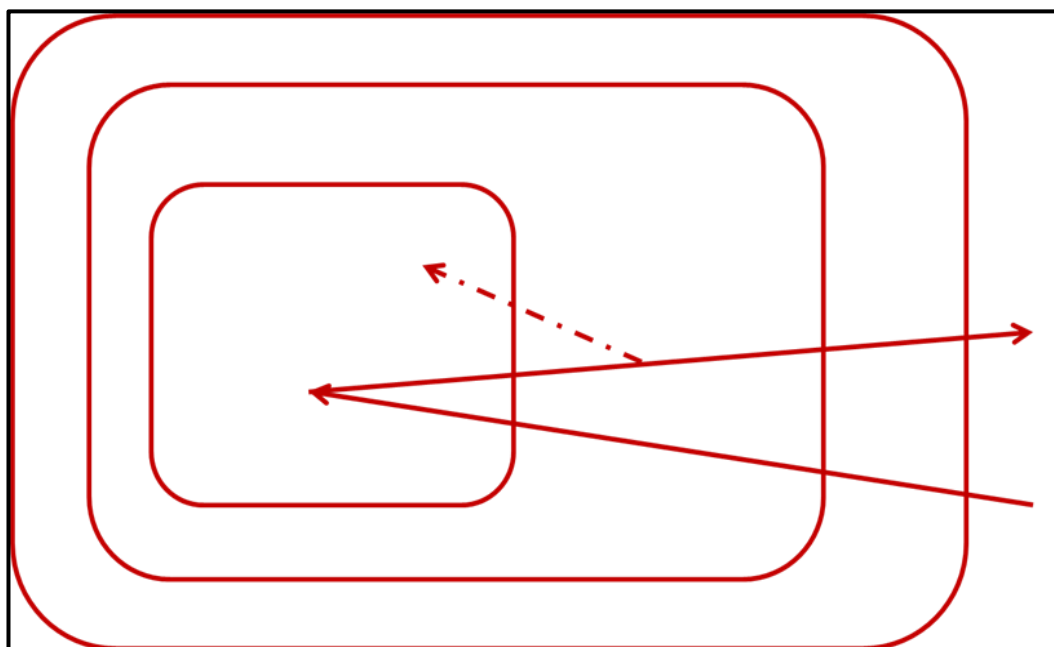
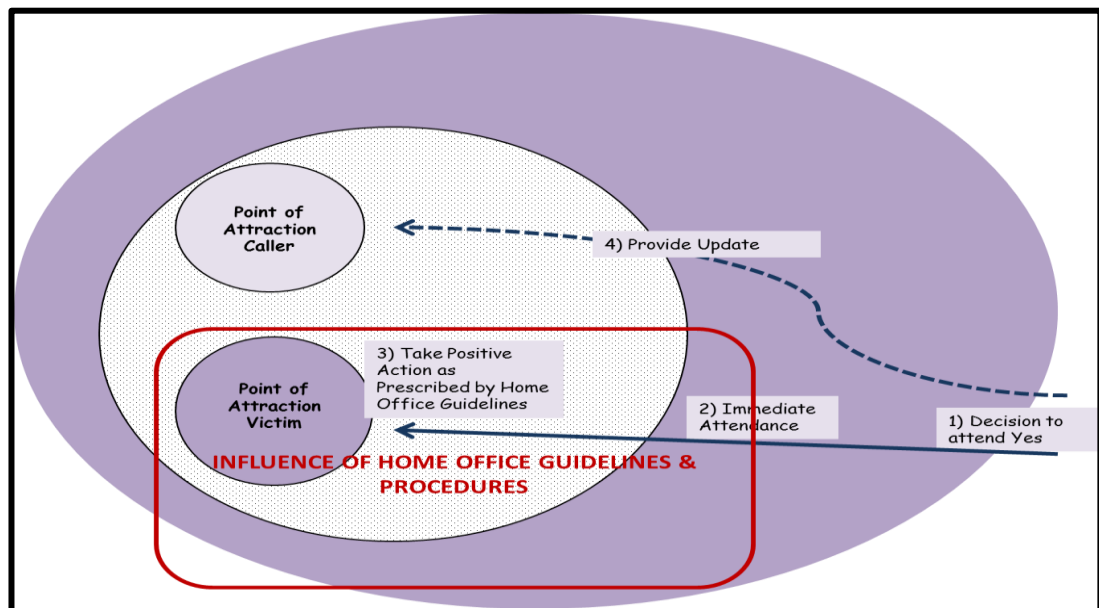
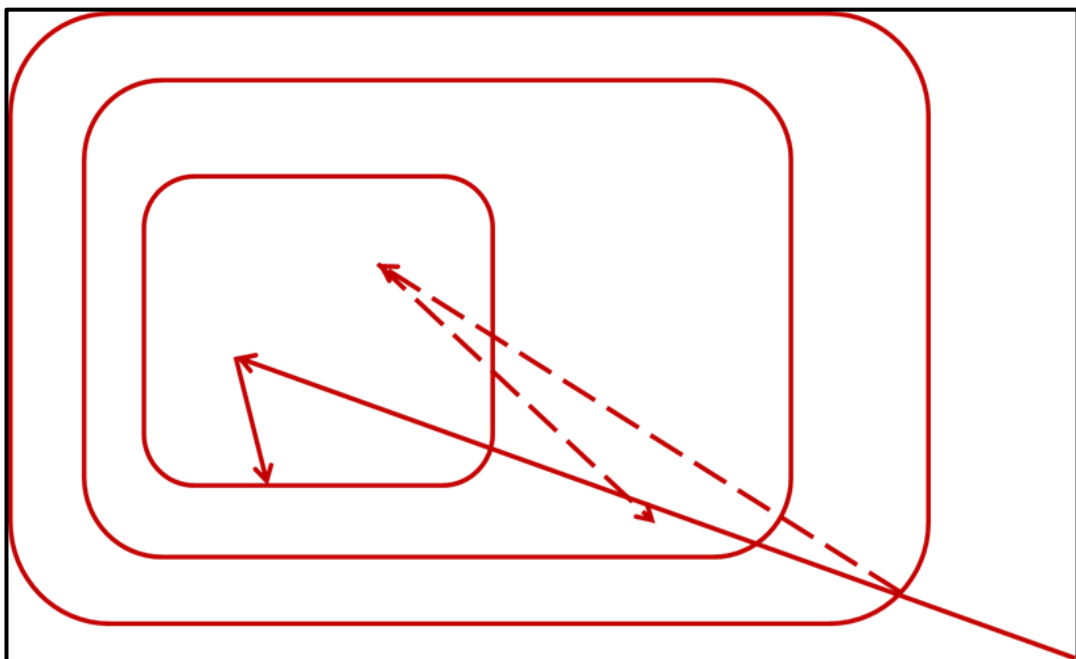
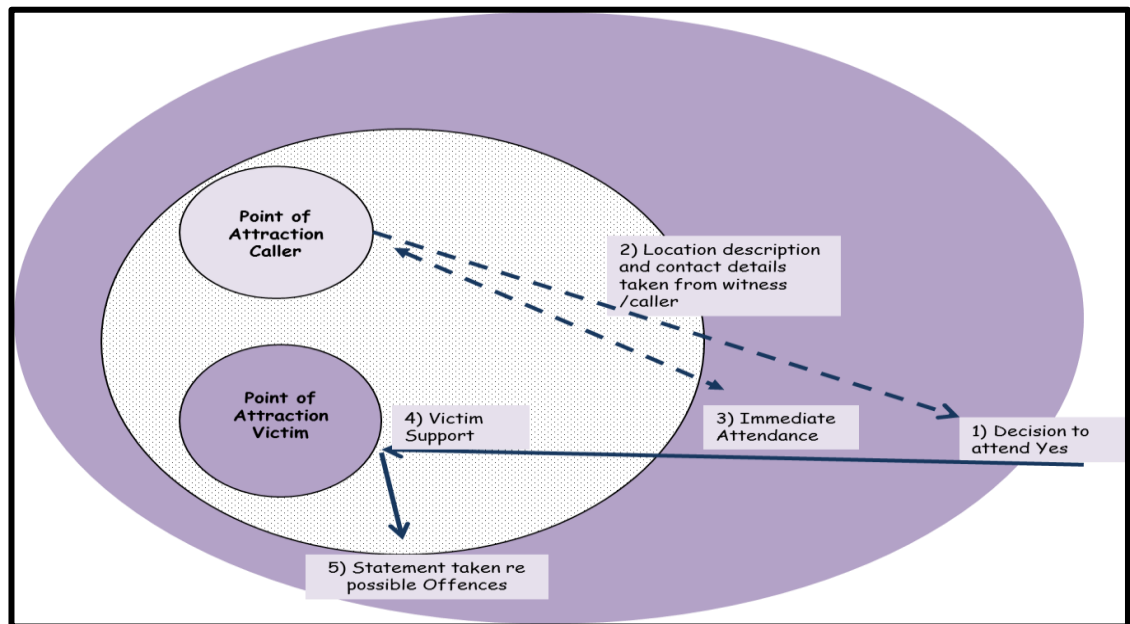


Figure 8.5: Map 4: Control Mapping for Scenario 4 'Domestic Incident' ¹⁴⁸ with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process



¹⁴⁸ Police officer actions indicated by blue arrow PCSO actions not deemed appropriate.

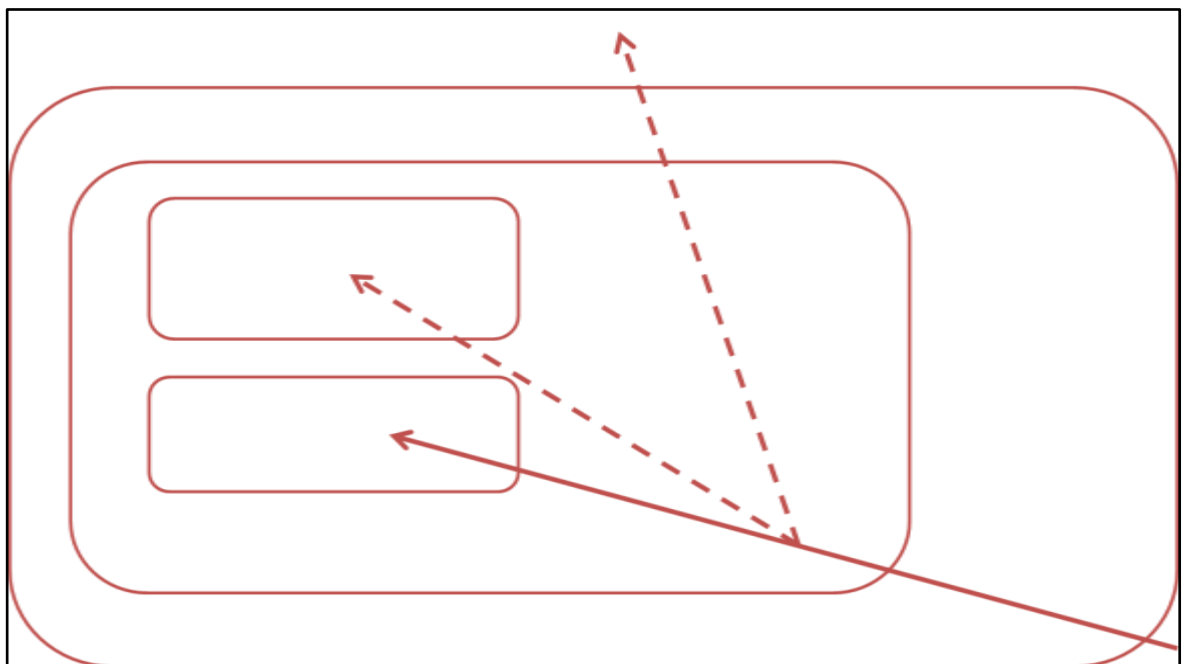
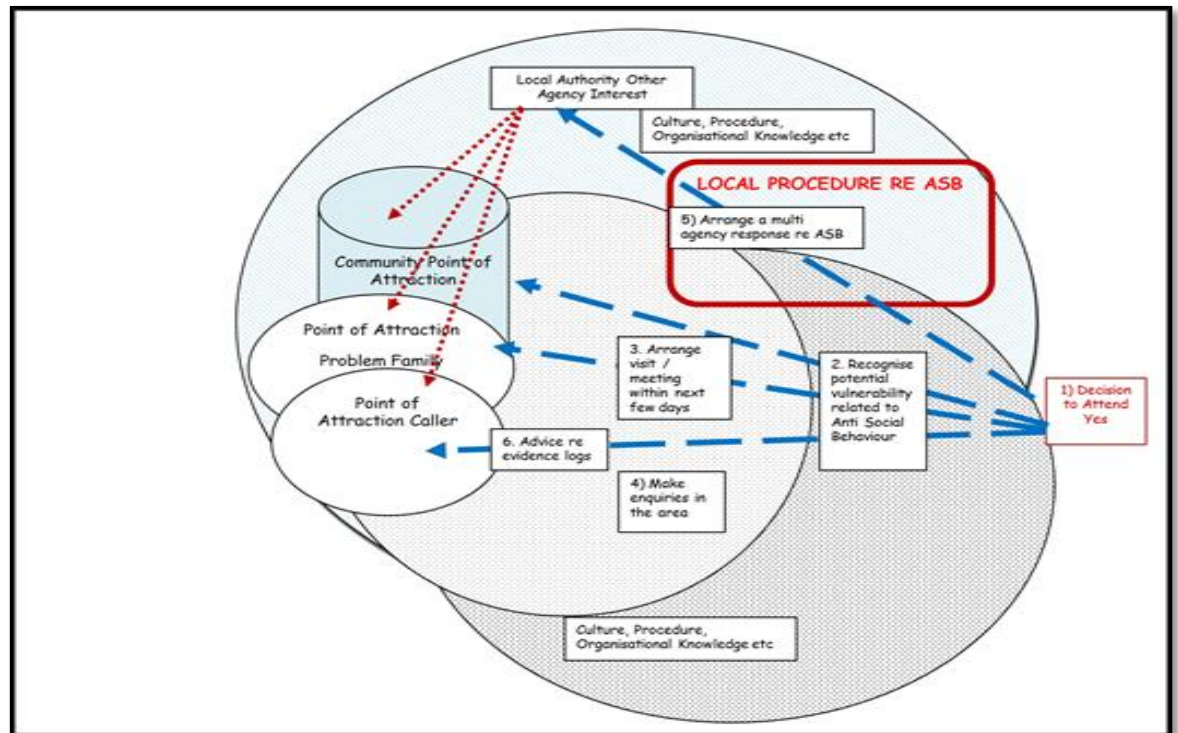
Figure 8.6: Map 5 Control Mapping for Scenario 5 'Common Assault' ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process.



¹⁴⁹ Police officer actions indicated by blue arrow PCSO actions not deemed appropriate.

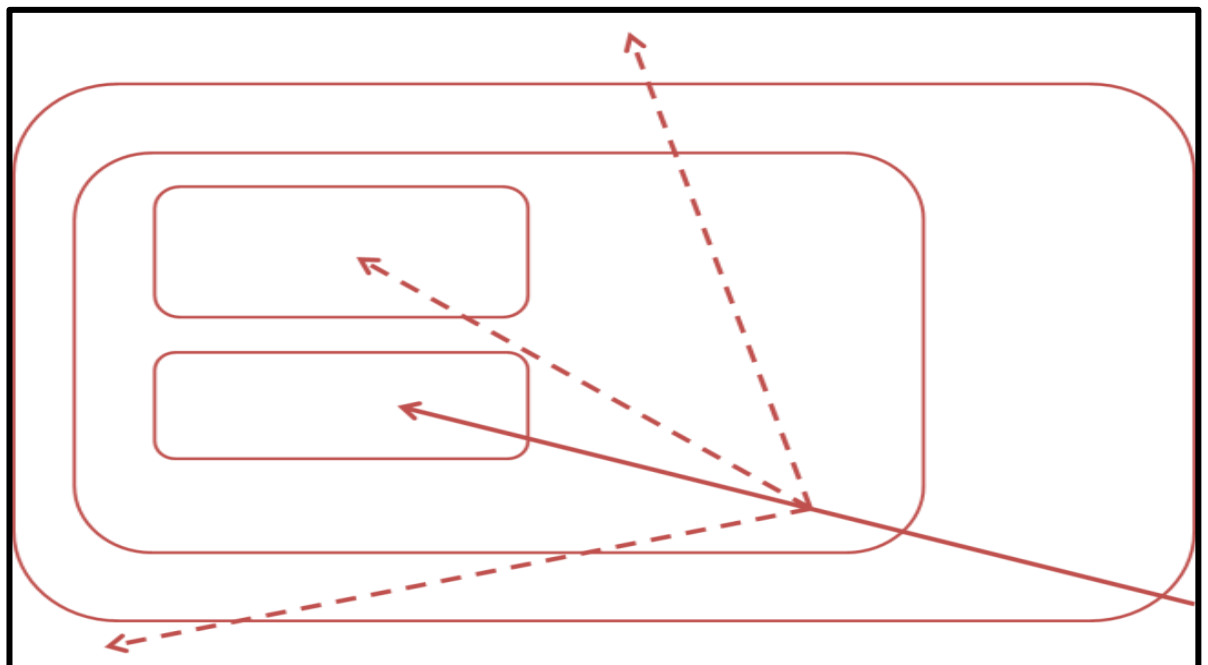
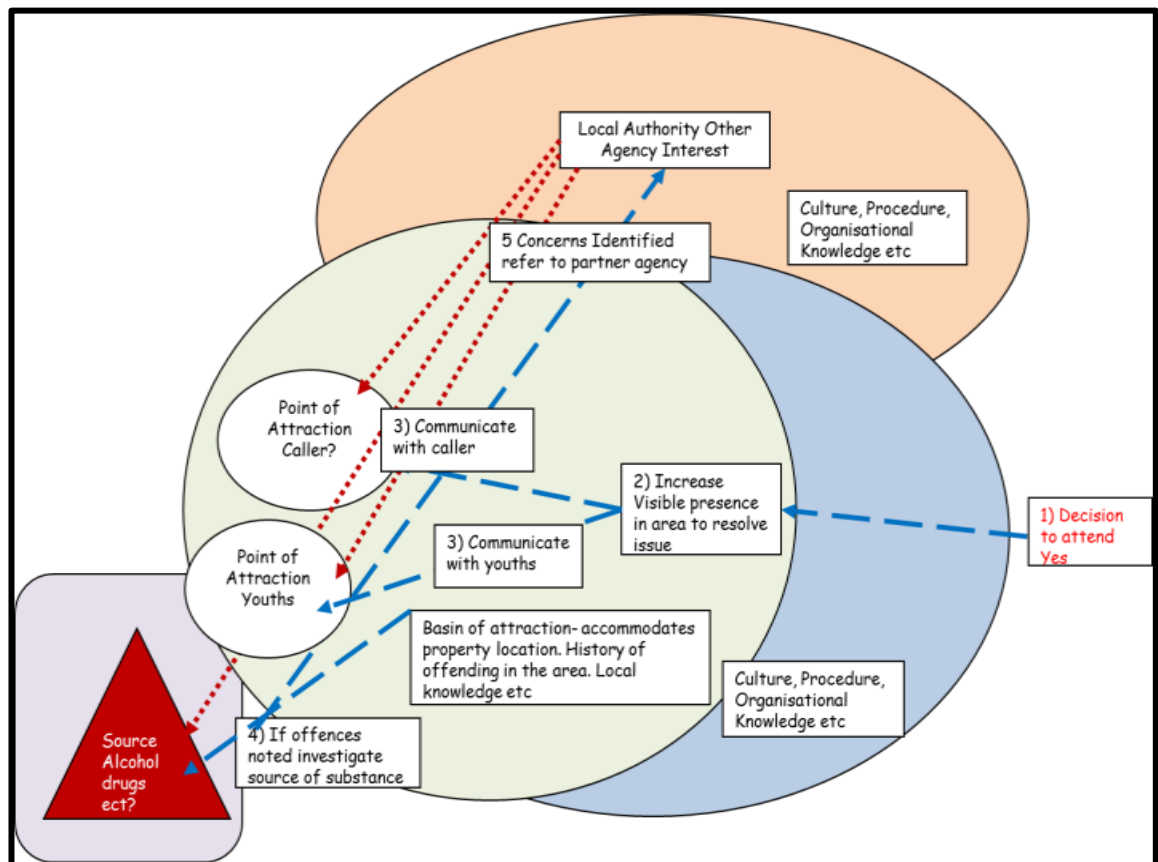
¹⁵⁰ The dotted blue lines represent independent contact to the caller prior to arrival at the scene

Figure 8.7: Map 6 Control Mapping for Scenario 6 'Community ASB¹⁵¹' with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process



¹⁵¹ 'Police officer /PCSO actions are indicated by blue spaced arrow. This is a Multi-agency intervention so PCSO /PC actions interchangeable. Multi agency actions are indicated by red dotted arrows.

Figure 8. 8: Map 7 Control Mapping for Scenario 7 'Youth ASB?' with Template for the NOS/Control Element Process

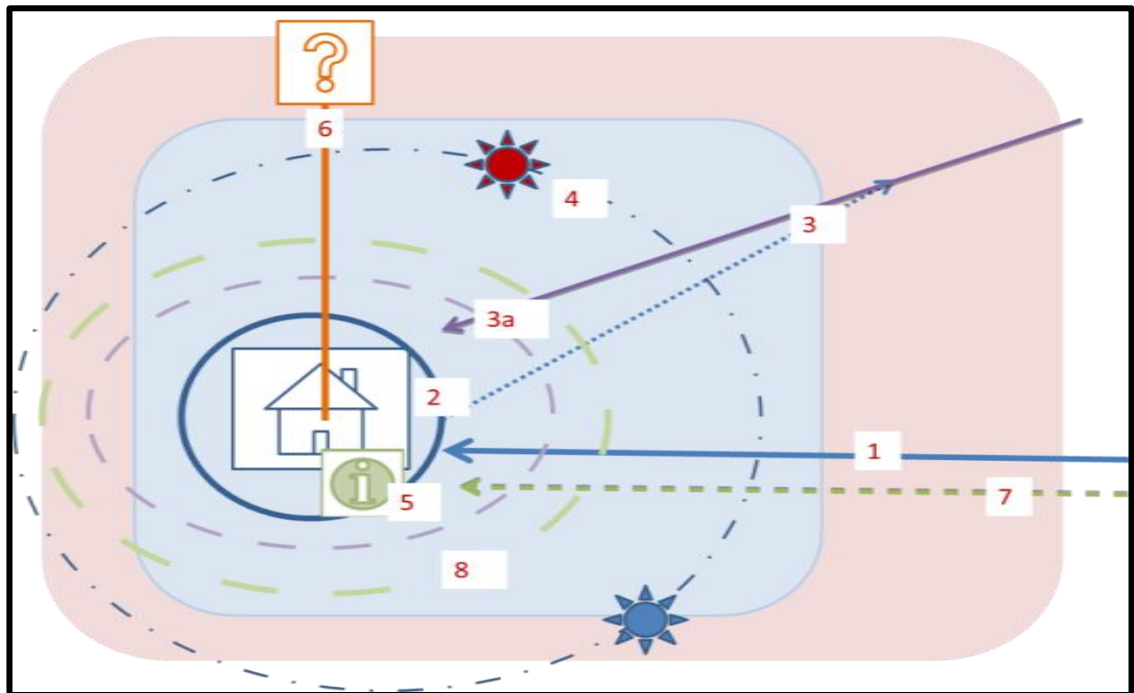


Appendix 11:

Copy/ Example of the Mapping Process

Stage 1

Figure 8.9: Mapping example: Draft 1 of the mapping process -
Response from Sgt1



Sgt 1 Interview Responses:

1 I'd speak to householder

2 Look at damage to the door- See if forensic evidence around -

3 This would need to be examined by scenes of crime officers. Other actions would depend on when I attended -

4 if incident had just happened I would look for possible suspects -Once I had spoken to the caller

5 I would also look to give crime prevention advice and

6 direct the caller to access further support

I'd expect attendance by a police officer if crime reported immediately - if called in later

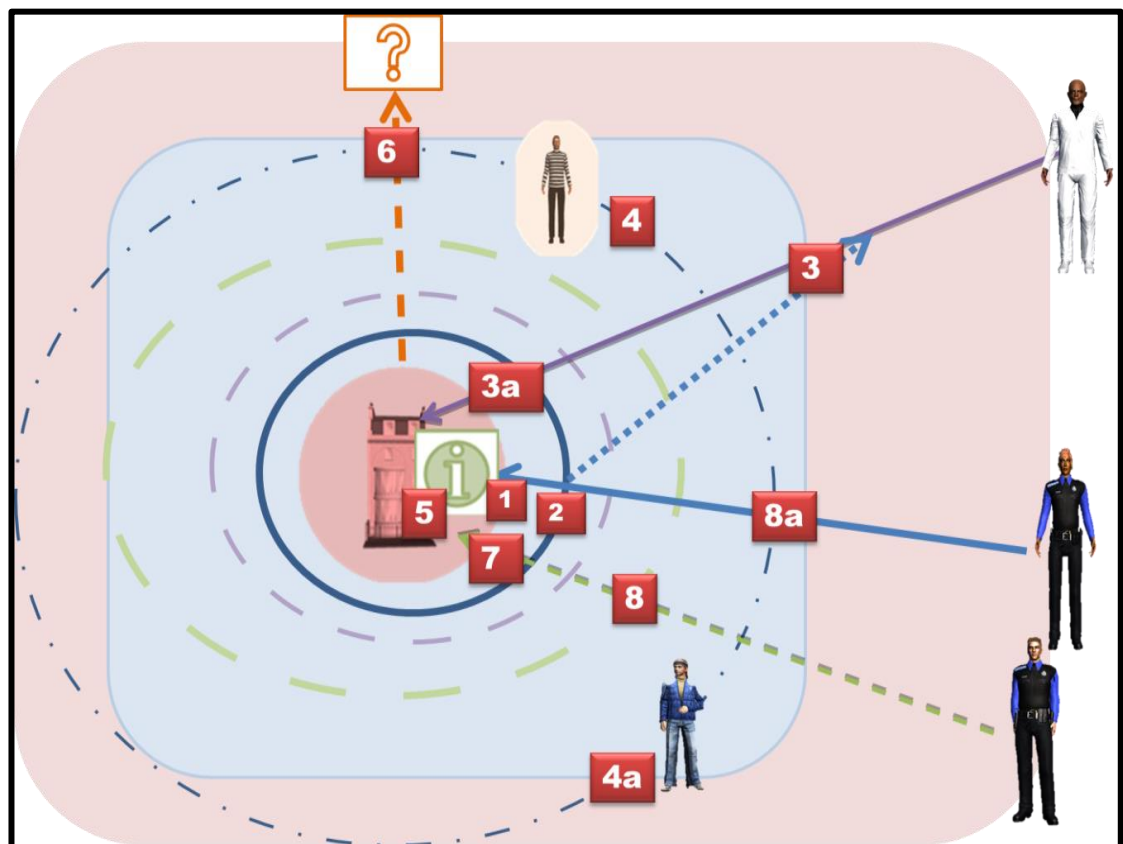
7 a PCSO could initially attend and give assurance -

8 They might also look at scenes of crime issues -they could determine from what they found whether it needed further investigation by police officer or could take advice on that issue if necessary

Stage 2

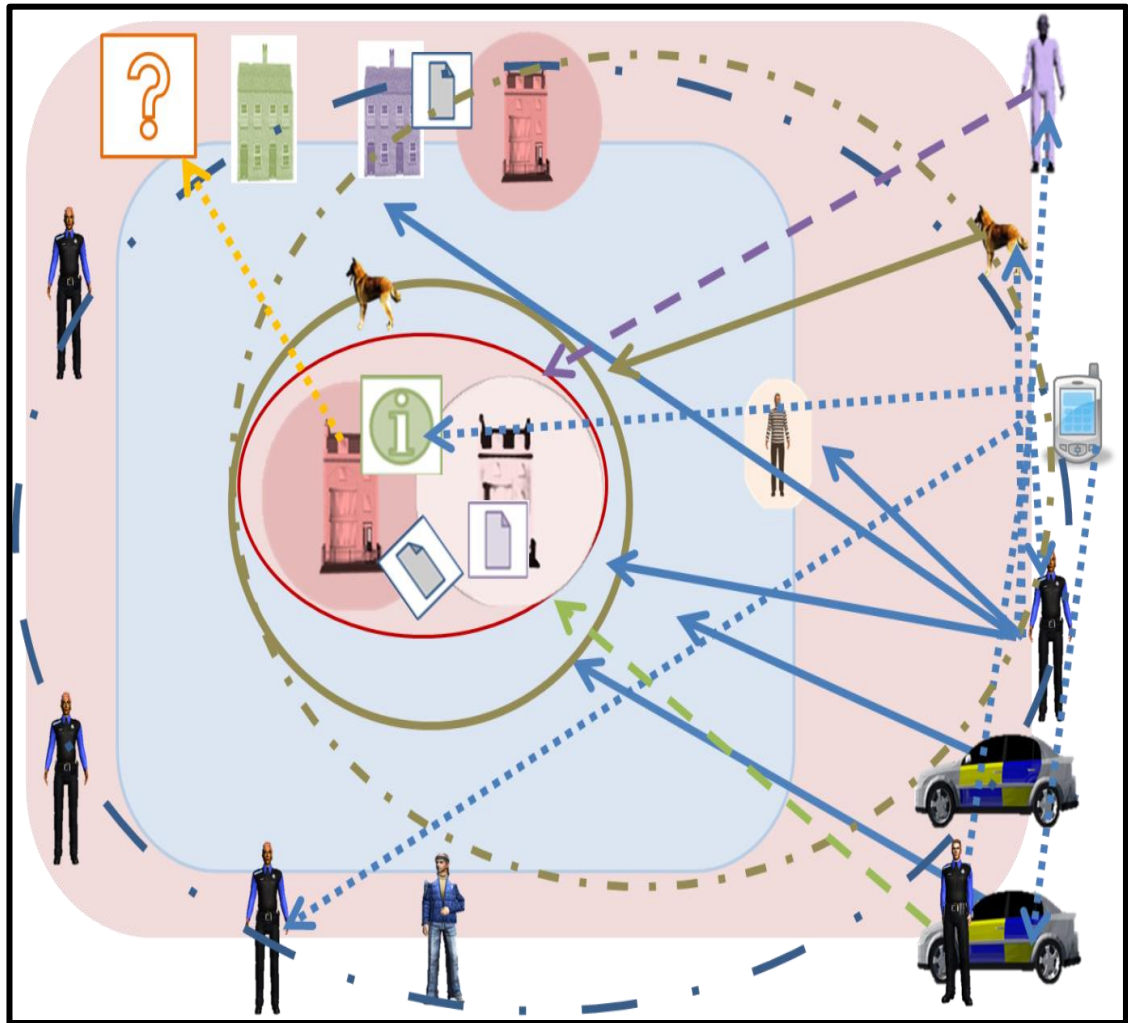
Figure 8.9a: Mapping example Draft 2 of the mapping process -

Response from Sgt 1



Stage 3 Example of the Consolidation of Responses




































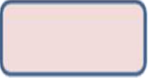
Figure 8.11: Consolidated Response- Sergeants Scenario 1



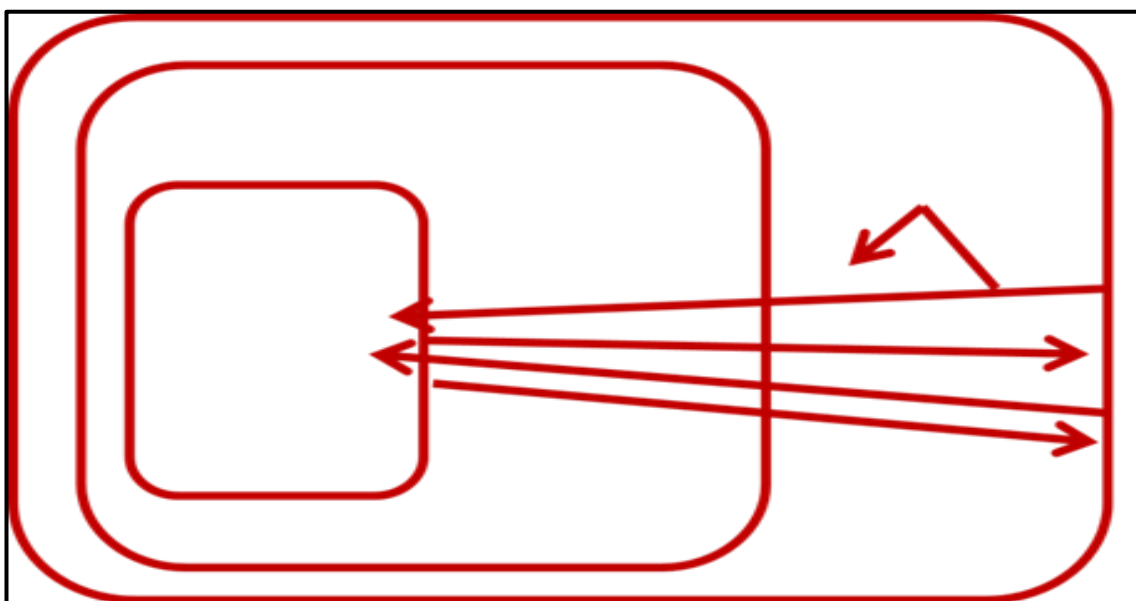
Appendix 12: Copy of Data Consolidation Maps & Cross Scenario Maps by Subject Group

Scenario 1

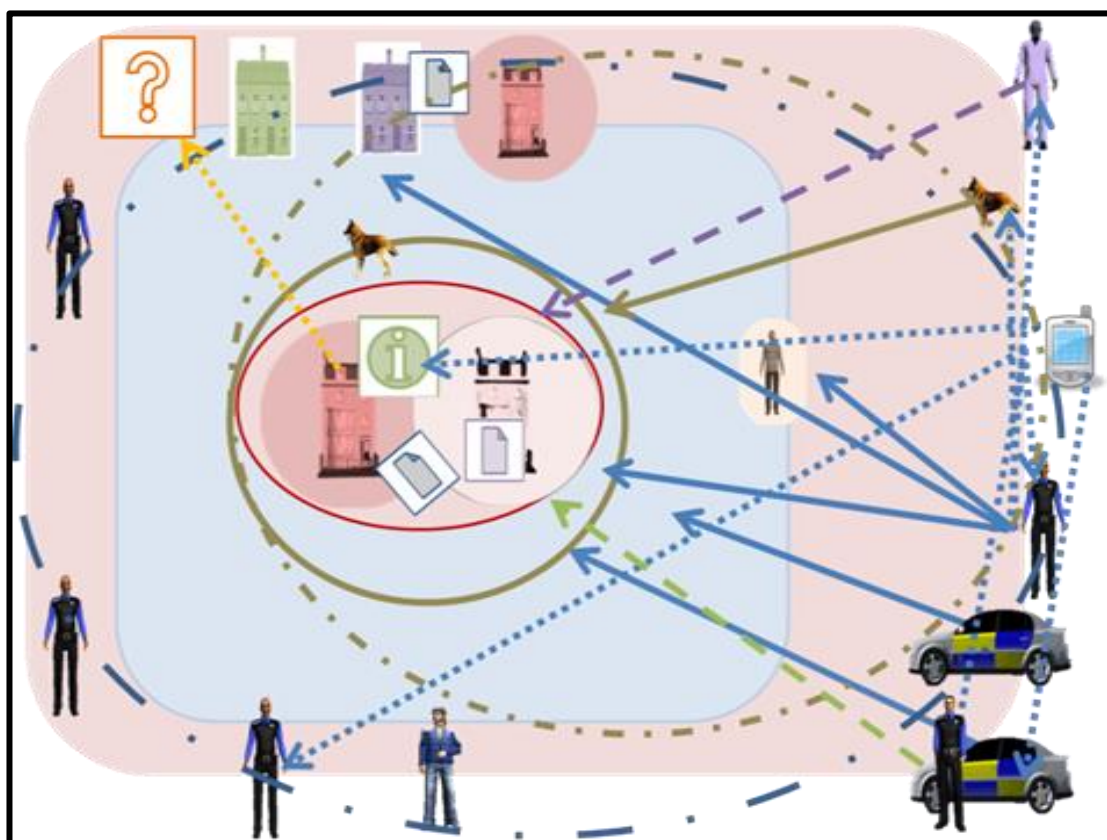
Key

   	Information to Police Reassurance to Public Information to Public	 Dog Van/Handler 	  	Statement or other police 'paperwork' Crime documentation Risk Assess	The Public 	Suspect/Offender  As Secondary Attractor	Police Constable 	PCSO 	SOCO 
 	Secure Premises CCTV Telephone	Helicopter   Nominal	Neighbourhood Property 1 	Neighbourhood Property 2 	Target of Crime- Centre of Attraction 				
Action by Police /PCSO later   Smartwater PCSO/ Police Patrol in area 		Immediate Action at Scene PC  PCSO   Historical or family issues Contact by Officer with Organisational Resource 	Action by other Officers in area  Action by Victim  Control FHQ 	SOCO Attendance  Dog Handler Attendance  Dog Search/Patrol 	Basin of Attraction Local Attractants Patterns of Crime Community etc.  Organisational Knowledge Culture Attractant 				

National Occupational Standards Template

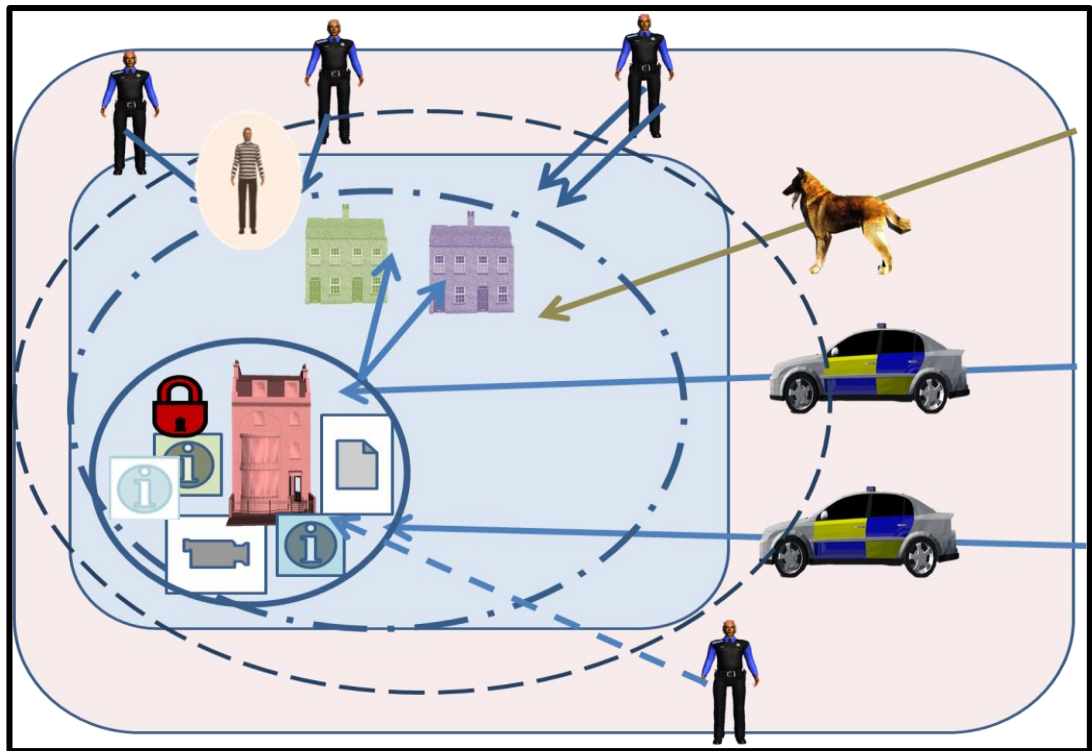


Sergeant

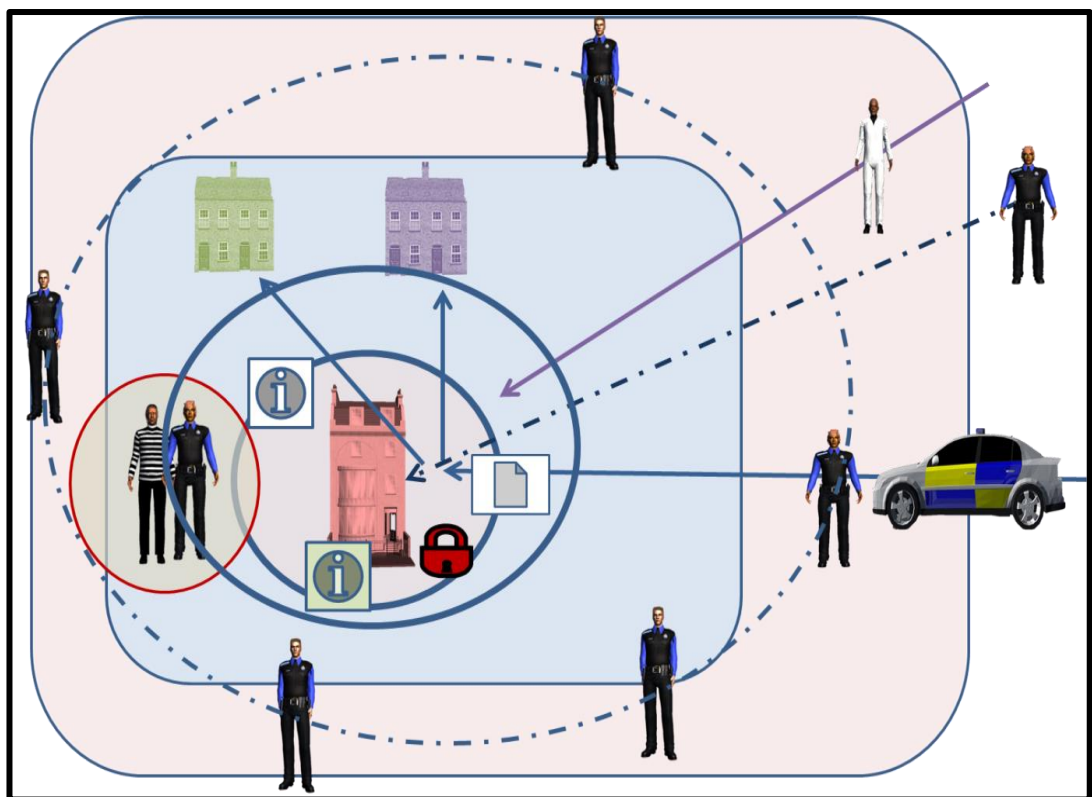


[illegible]

Managers














































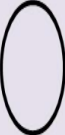




Public Sample

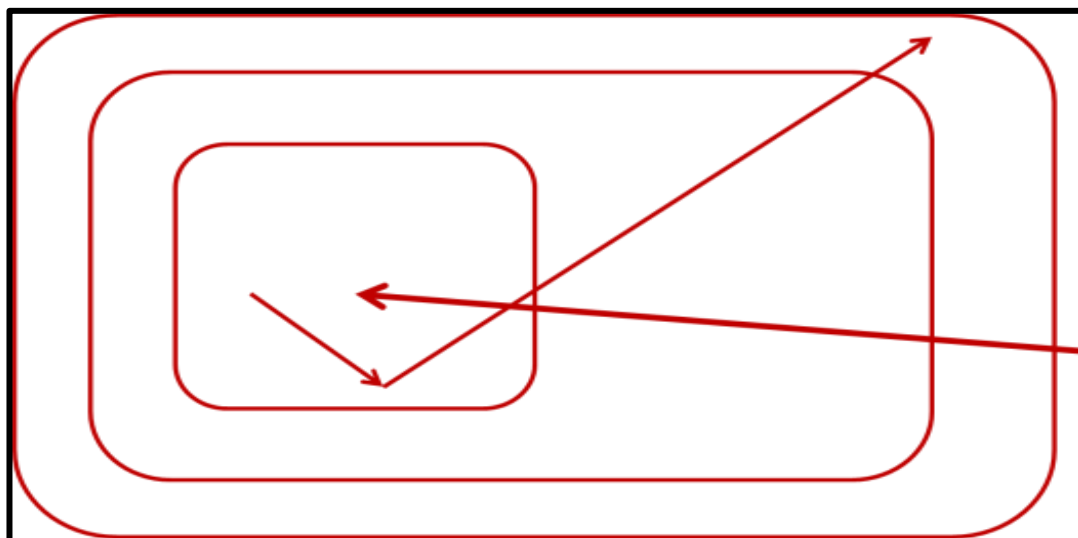


Scenario 2

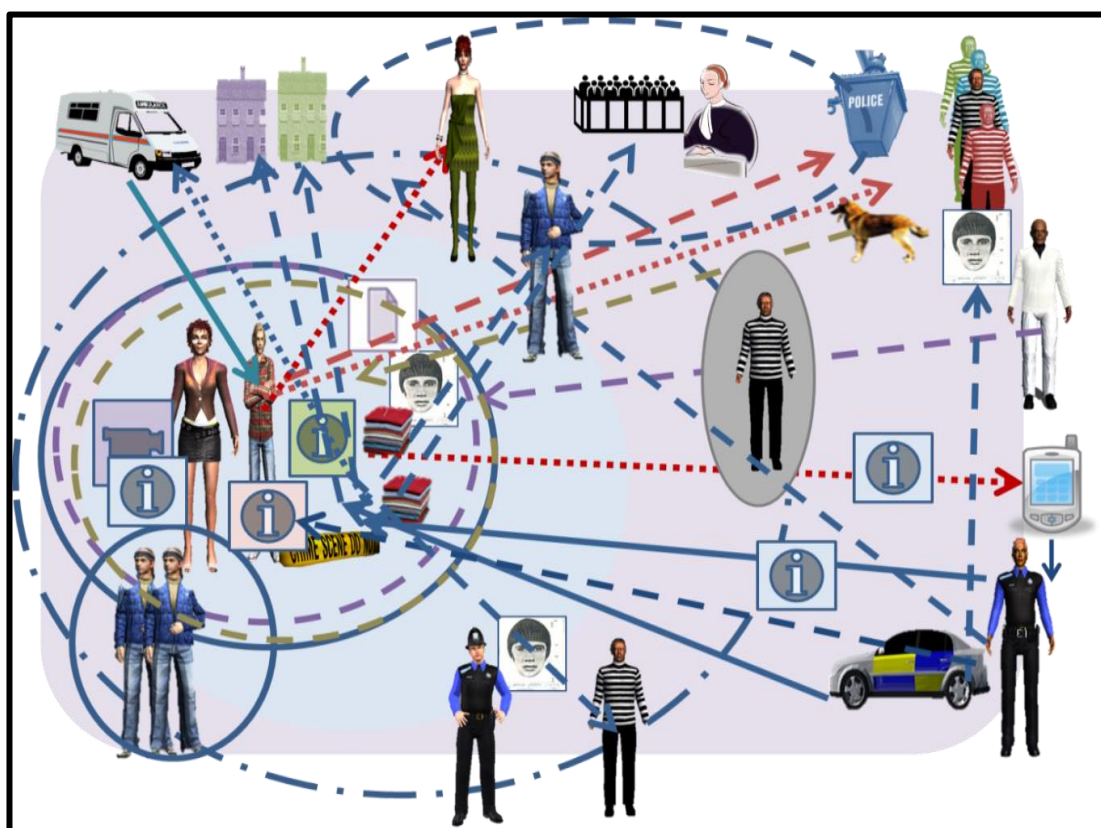
Key

Victims Home Address 	House to House Investigation 	Issues such as poor lighting at crime scene 	CCTV 	Police Station 	Identity Parade/Procedures 	Suspects description 	Victim Support 
Crime Scene Preservation/Investigation 	Victims Clothing 	Credit Cards 	Sergeant 	Police Dog 	Control FHQ 	Language Line Interpreter 	Crown Prosecution Services 
Police Response Vehicle 	Ambulance 	Police Helicopter 	Personal Security/Safety 	Diarised Appointment 	Information about Offence 	Information for Victim 	Contact Information 
Court Process 	Doctor/GP 	Male Victim 	Female Victim 	Next of Kin 	Witness 	SOCO 	CTD 
Police Officer 	PCSO 	Suspect 	Statement/Crime Form 	Drink 	Risk 	Reassurance 	Unknown Response 
Communication 	Patrol/ Search 	Immediate Action 	Delayed or Secondary Action 	Alternative Action Focus 	Potential Basins of Attraction 	Location of Offender 	Crime Reports 

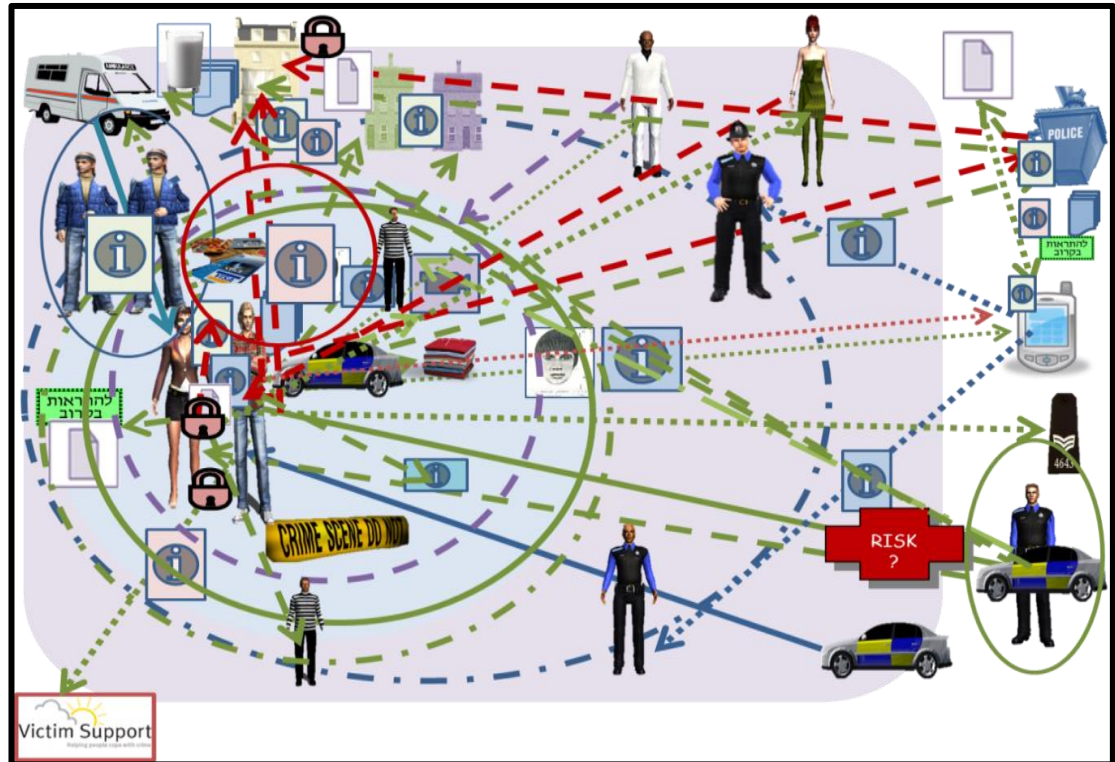
National Occupational Standards Template



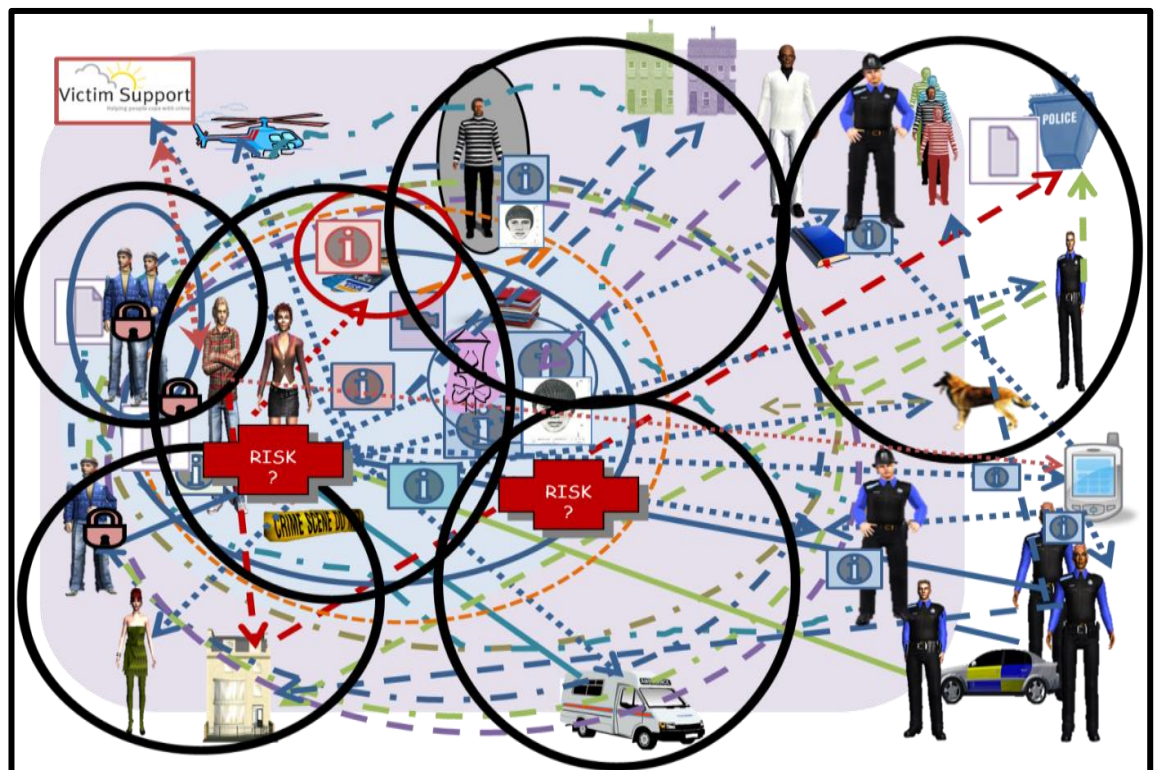
Sergeant



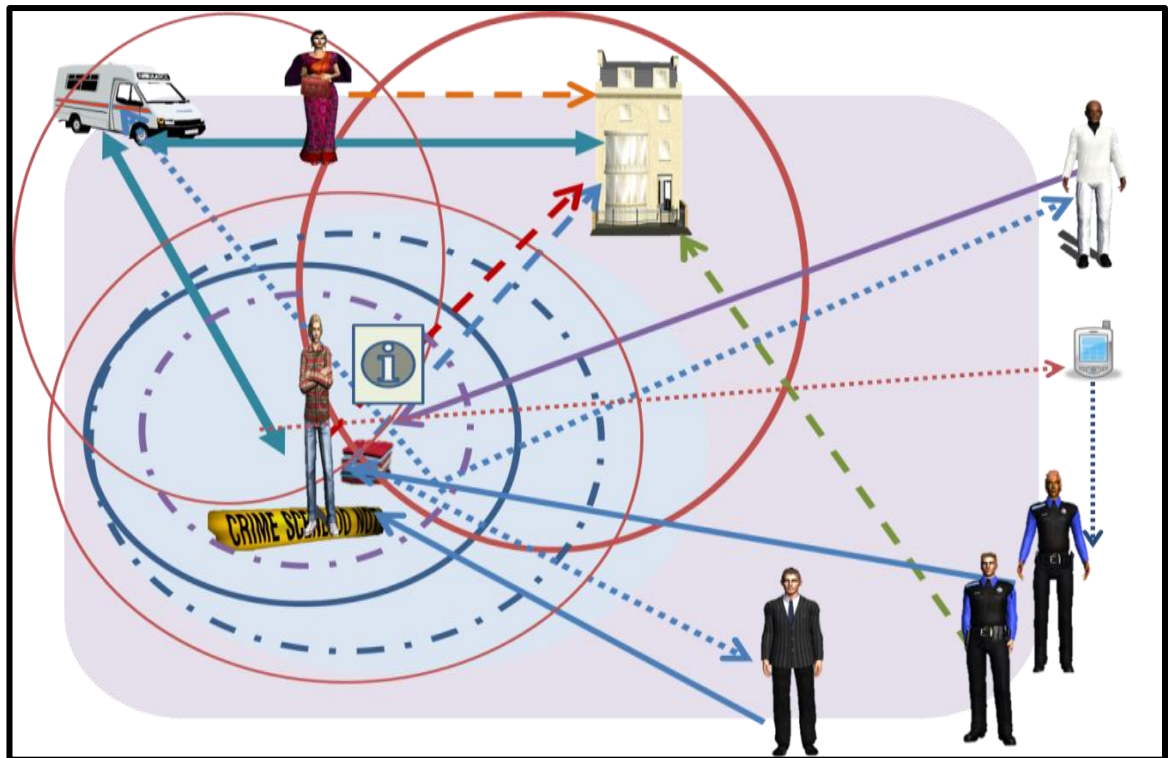
PCSO



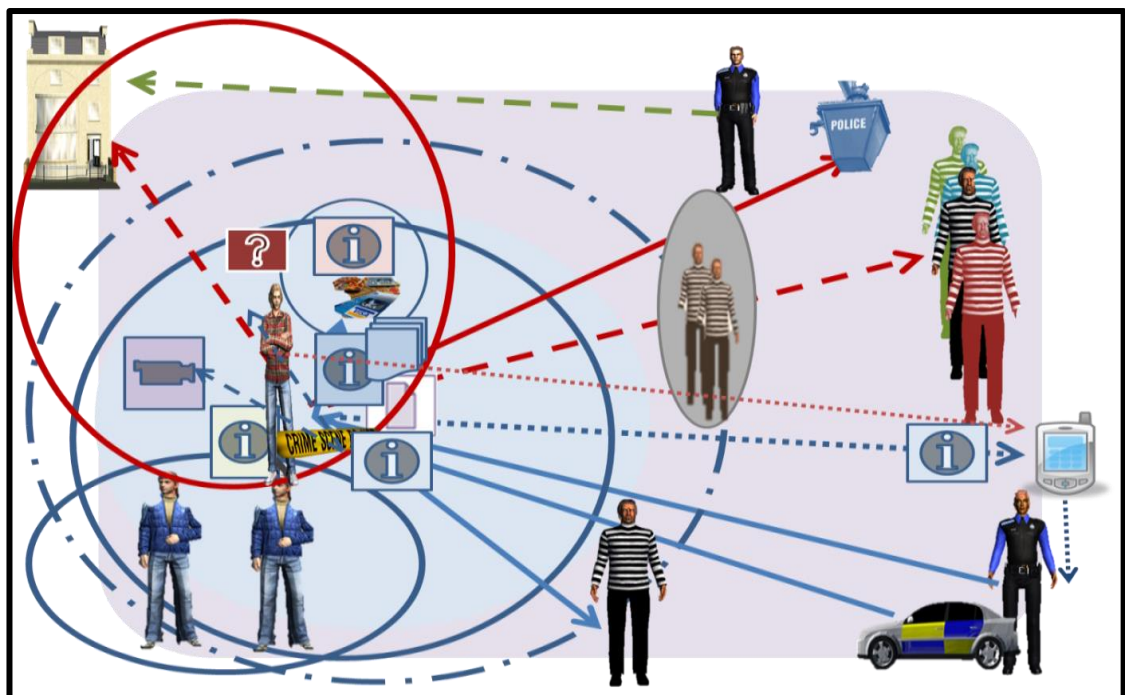
Police Constable



Manager
































Public

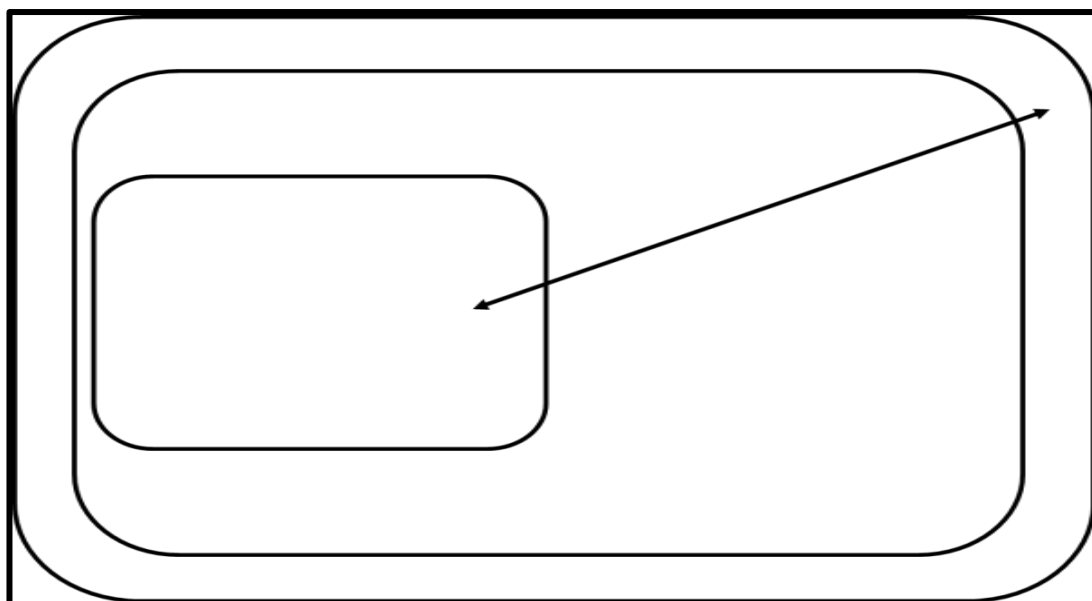


Scenario 3

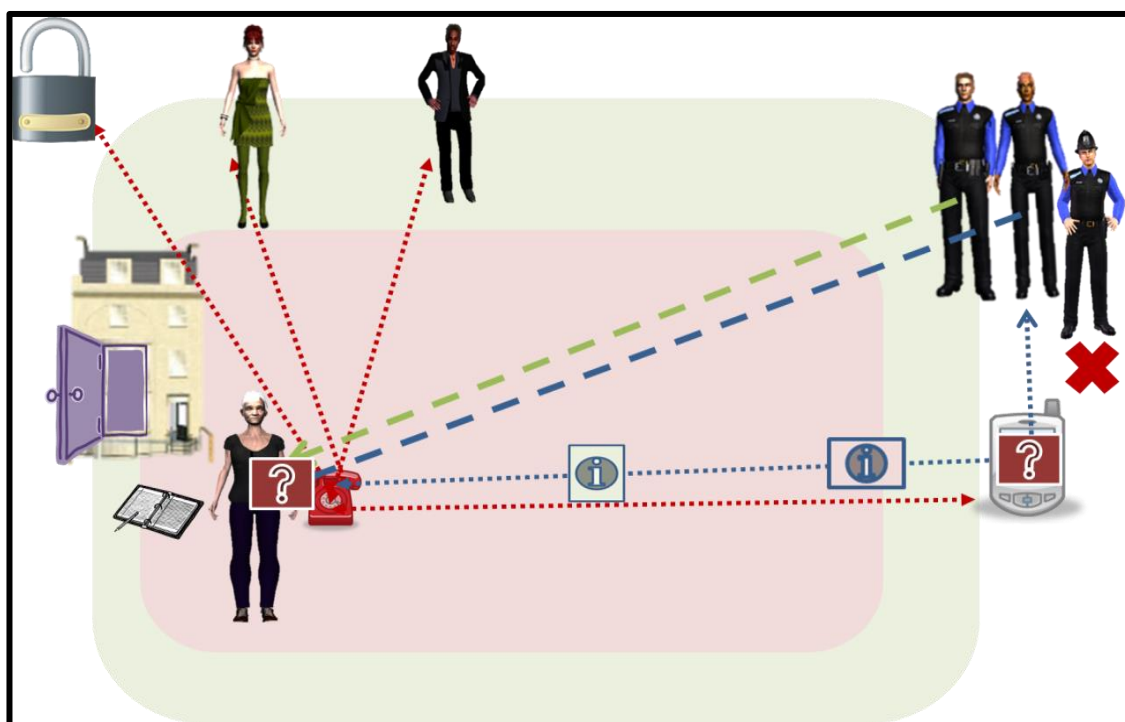
Key

Property - Home & Alternative	Vulnerable Callers	Caller	Landlord	Firearms Officer	Next of Kin & Neighbour	PCSO Police Officers
						
Communication 	Action 	Control FHQ 	Break in via door or window 	Undetermined Action Assessment of Vulnerability 	No Attendance by Officer 	
Pocket note book entry 	Locksmith 	Key 	Response Vehicle 	Risk Assessment 	Information 	
Telephone 	Door stop/ Advice for future 	Iron 	Confusing or inaccurate information 	Reassurance 	Contact Details 	
Ambulance 	Safety /Security 		Replacement Door 	RAC 		

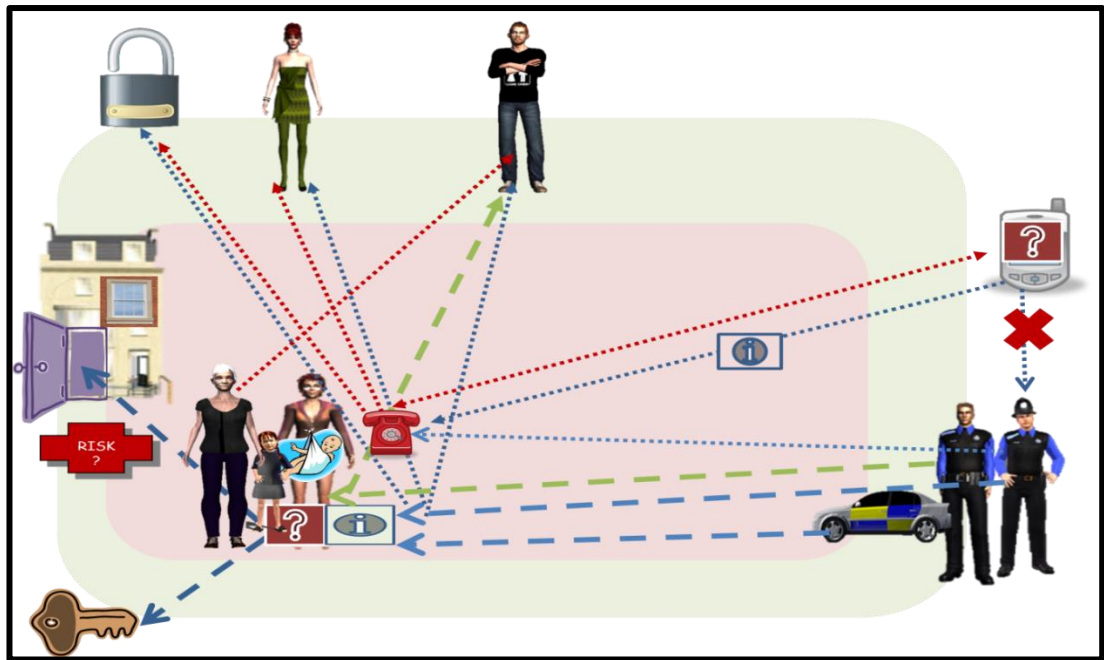
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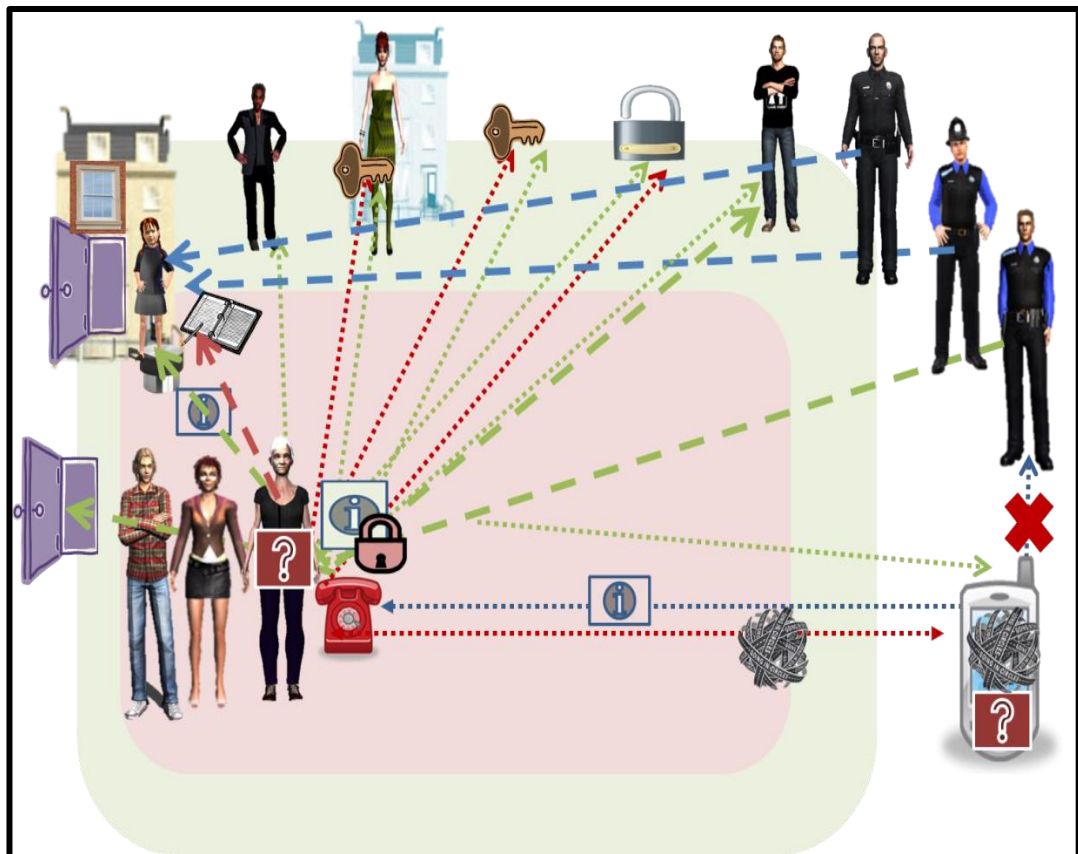
Managers



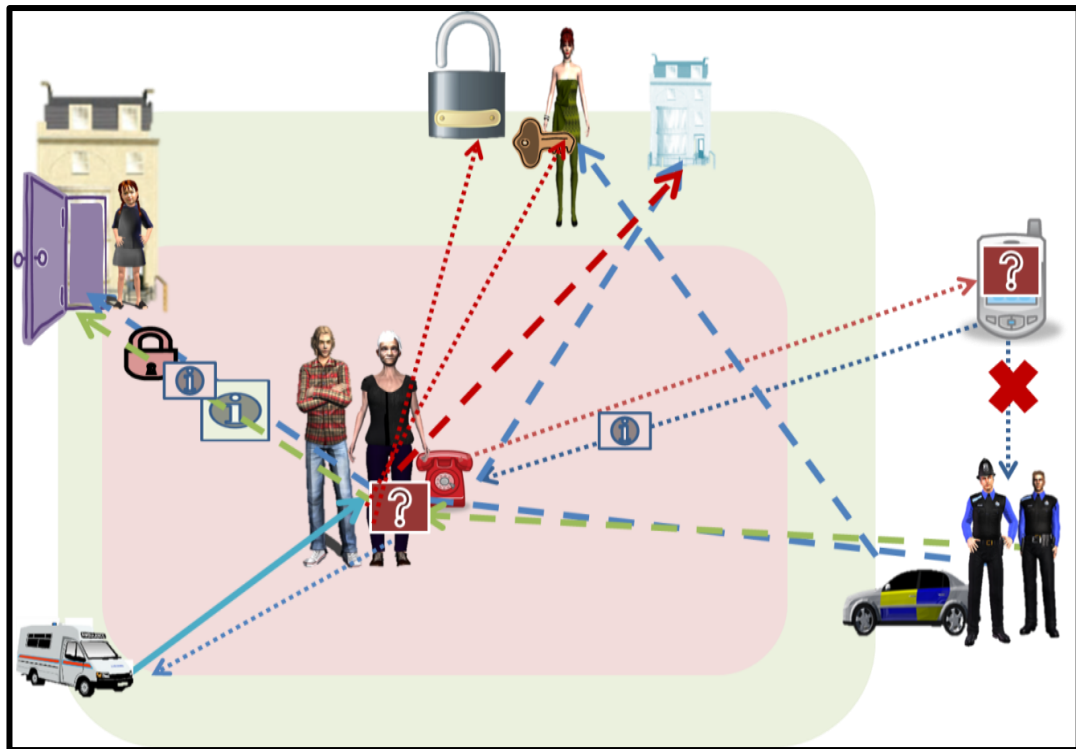
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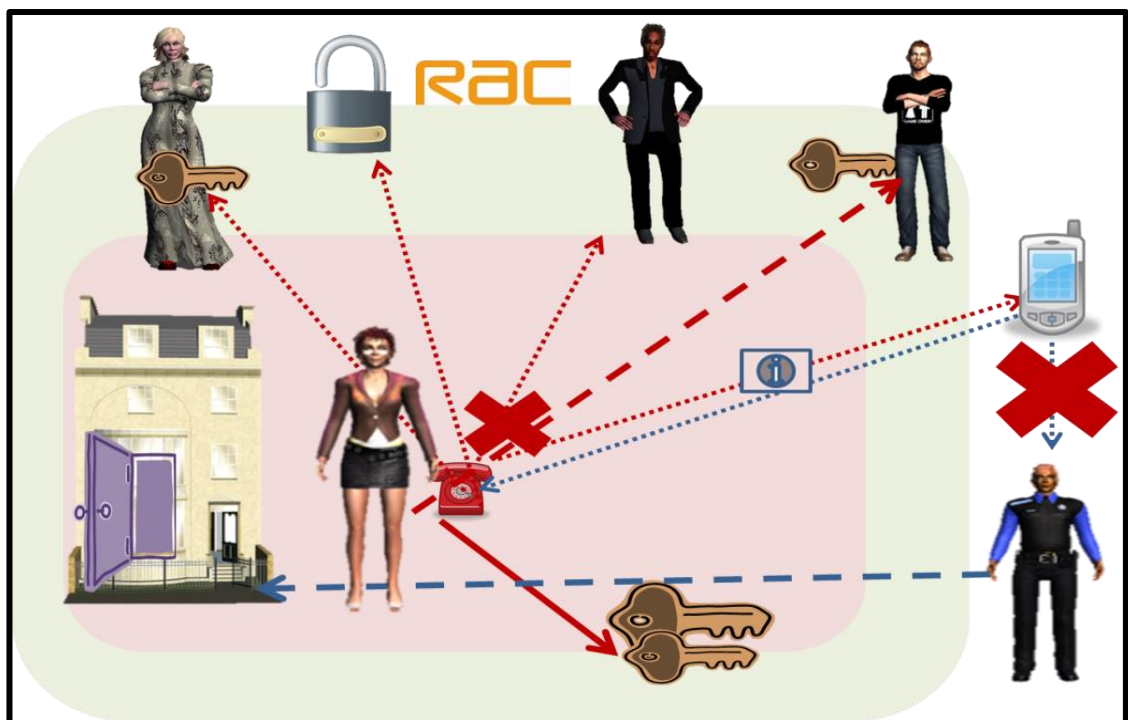
PCSO



Police Constable





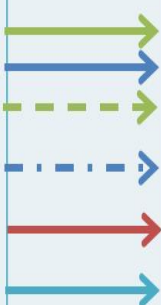





























Public

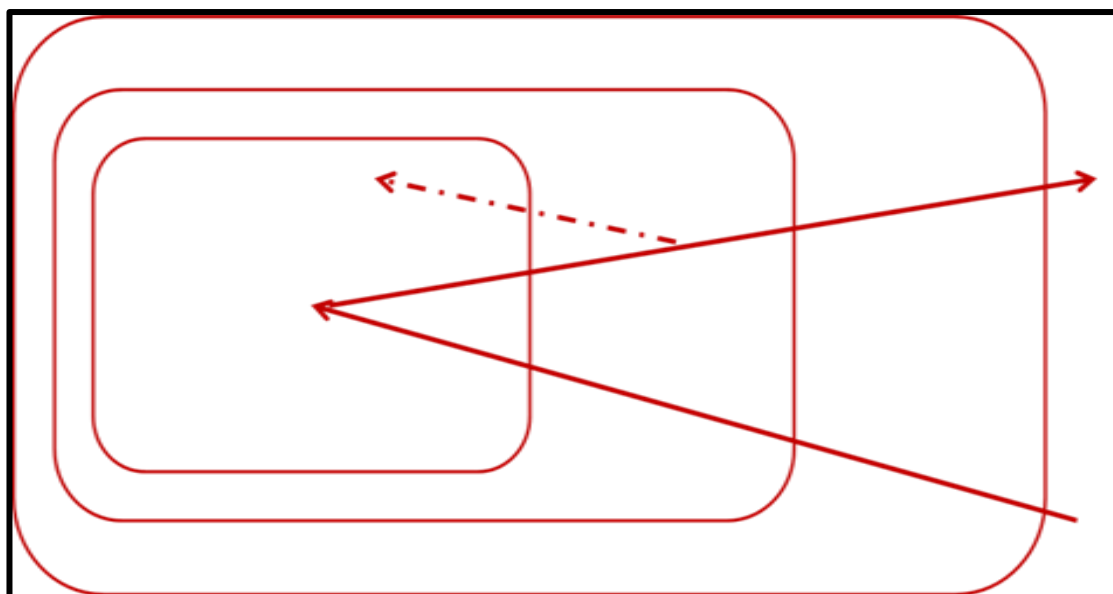


Scenario 4

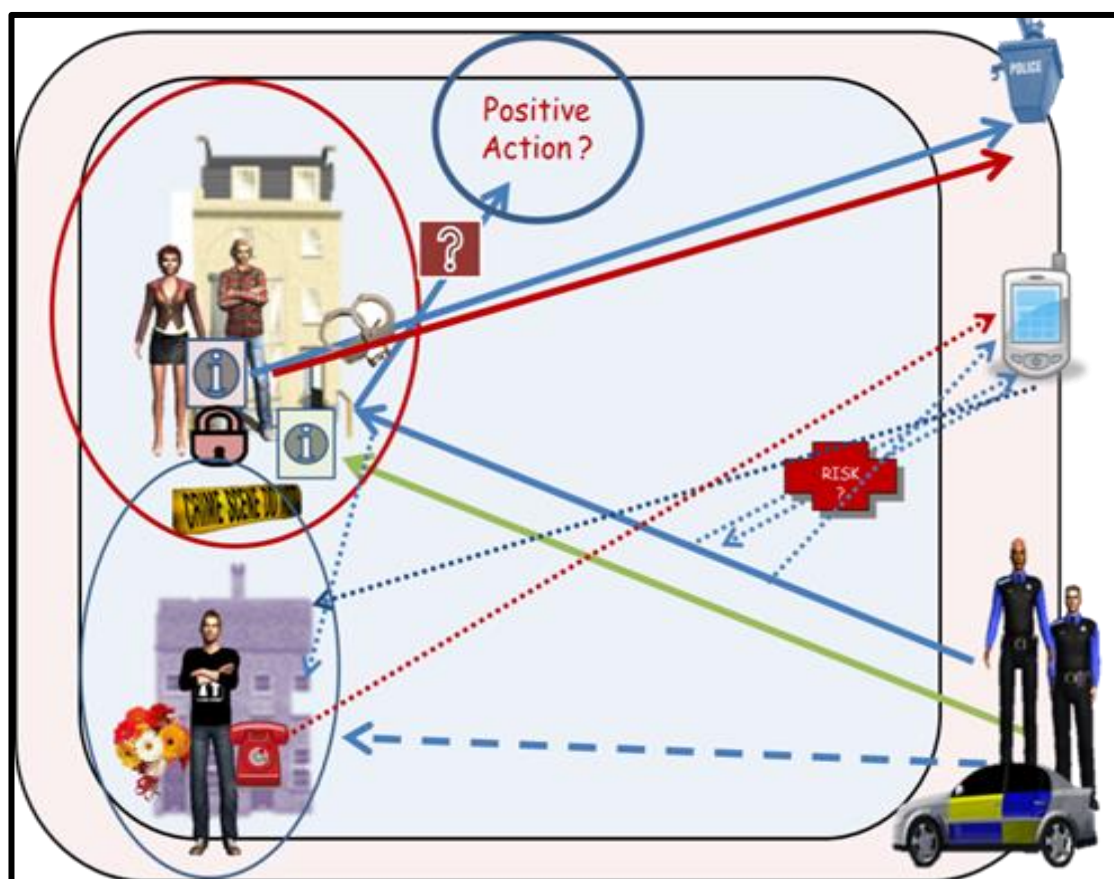
Key

<p>Communication</p> 	<p>Caller</p> 	<p>Place of Safety</p> 	<p>Next of Kin</p> 	<p>Action</p> 	<p>Child Victim</p> 	<p>Male/Female Victim/ Suspect</p> 
<p>Police Officer</p> 	<p>Domestic Violence Unit</p> 	<p>PCSO</p> 	<p>Security</p>  <p>Reassurance</p> 	<p>Police Station</p>  <p>Arrest</p> 	<p>Case file</p>  <p>Statement</p> 	<p>Positive Action</p> 
<p>Unknown Action</p> 	<p>Crime Information</p> 	<p>Contact information</p>  <p>Crime Scene</p> 	<p>Control Centre FHQ</p> 	<p>Court Process</p> 	<p>Risk Assessment</p> 	<p>Ambulance</p> 
<p>Victim Support</p> 	<p>Rapid Response Vehicle</p> 	<p>Thank you</p> 	<p>Women's Aid</p> 	<p>Public: No contact with Police</p> 	<p>Officer Not Attending</p> 	<p>Anger Management course</p> 

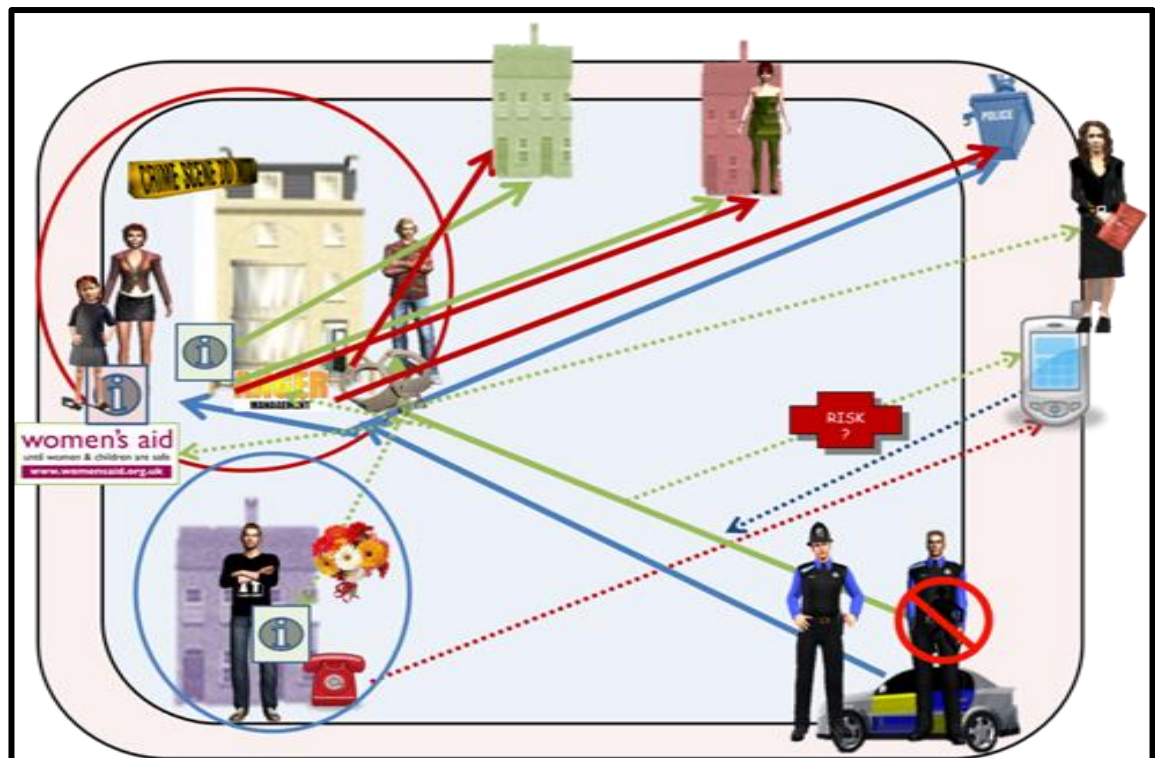
National Occupational Standards Template



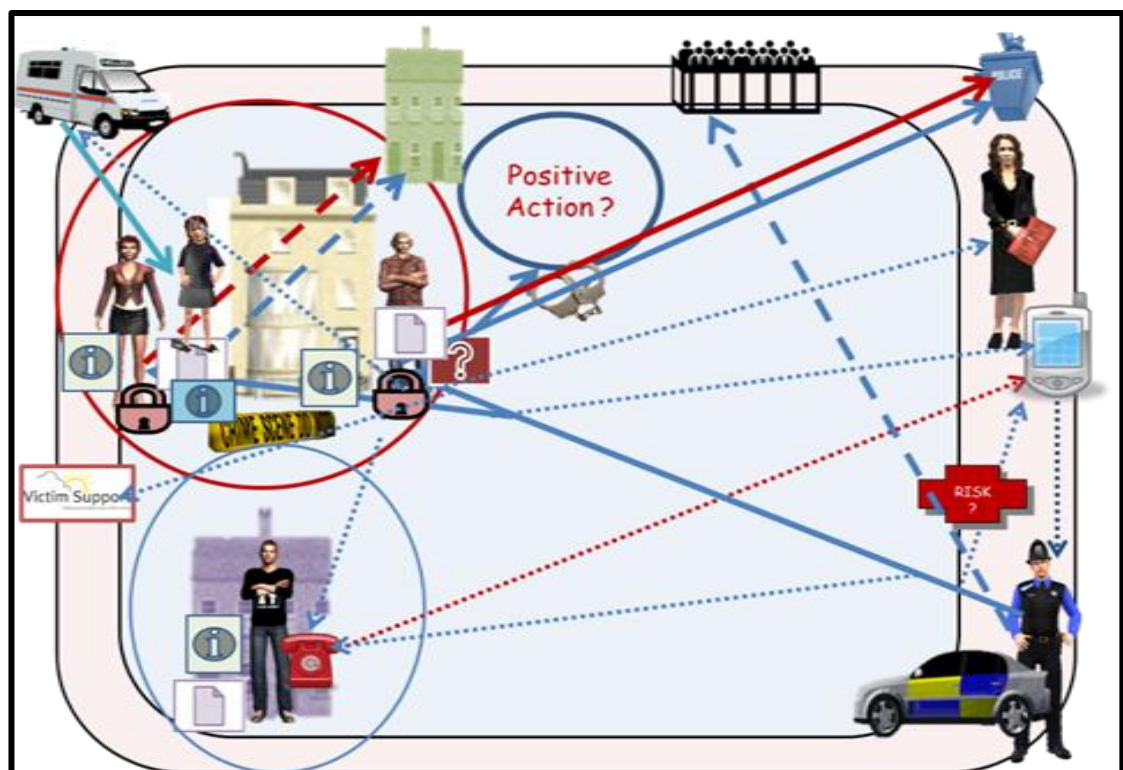
Manager



PCSO



























Police Constable

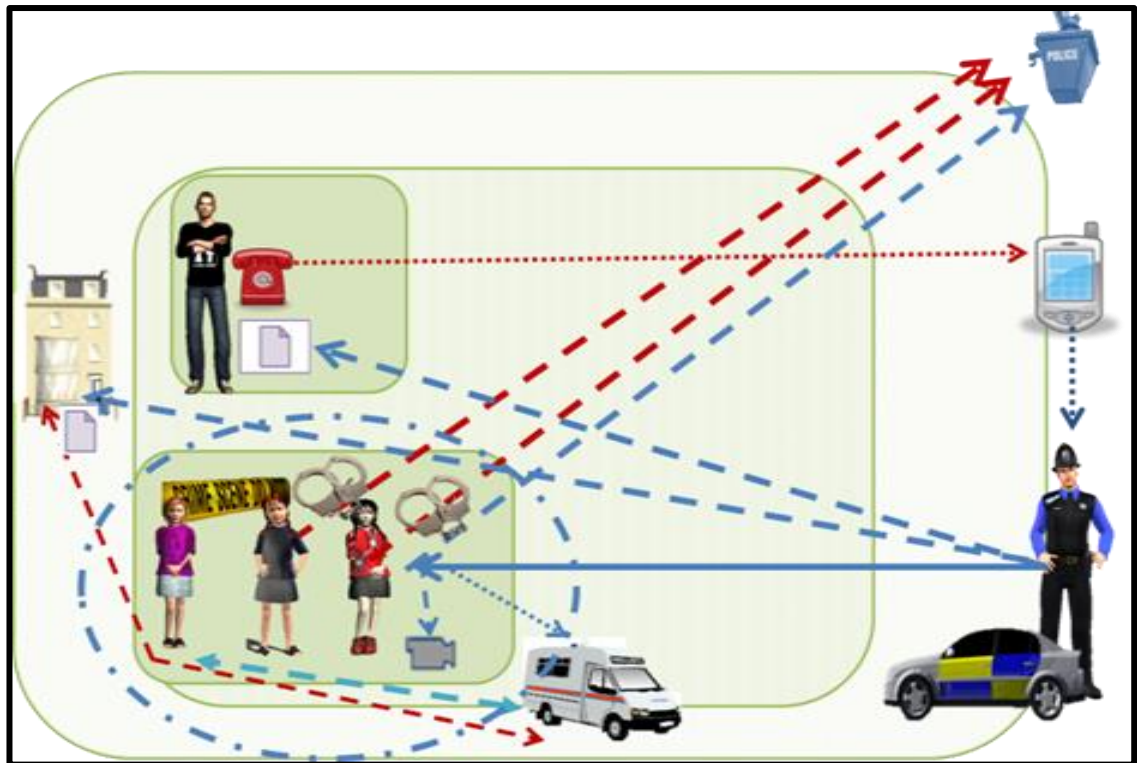


Scenario 5

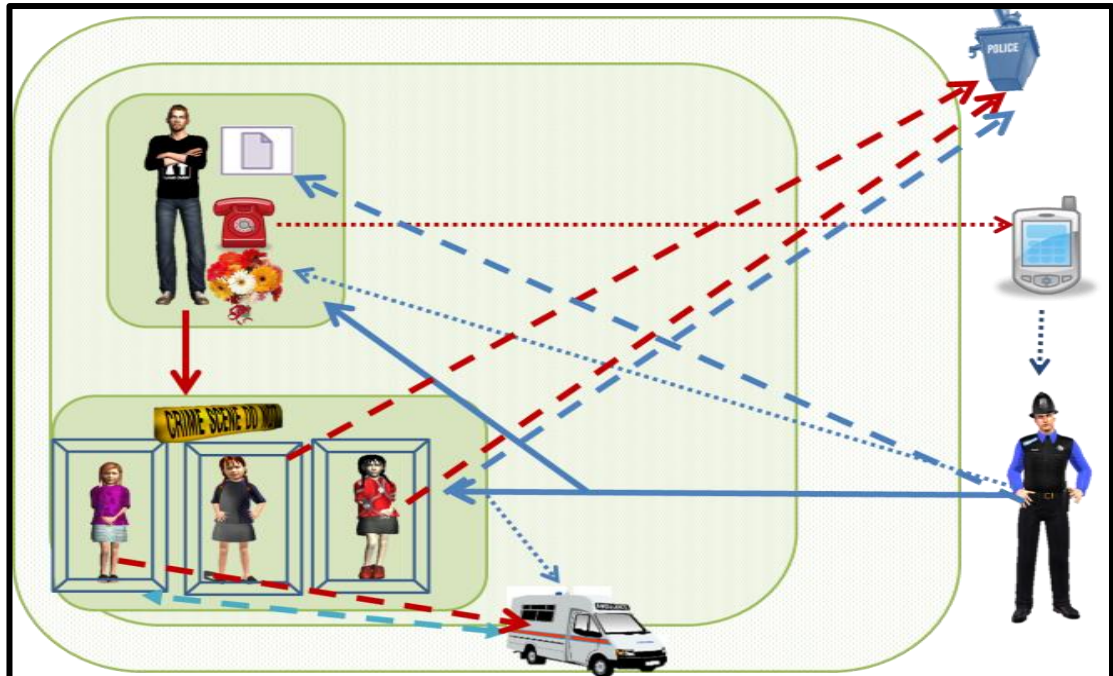
Key

<p>Caller</p> 	<p>Victim</p> 	<p>Suspect 1</p> 	<p>Suspect 2</p> 	<p>Police Officers & PCSO</p> 	<p>Control FHQ</p> 
<p>Thanks</p> 	<p>Crime Scene</p> 	<p>Statement</p> 	<p>Medical Help</p> 	<p>Police station</p> 	<p>Arrest</p> 
<p>Rapid response</p> 	<p>Phone call</p> 	<p>CCTV images</p> 	<p>Circulate description</p> 	<p>Home Address with NOK</p> 	<p>Risk assessment</p> 
<p>Reassurance</p> 	<p>Information about offence</p> 	<p>Not attend</p> 	<p>Separate and secure</p> 	<p>Communication</p> 	<p>Action and Investigation</p> 

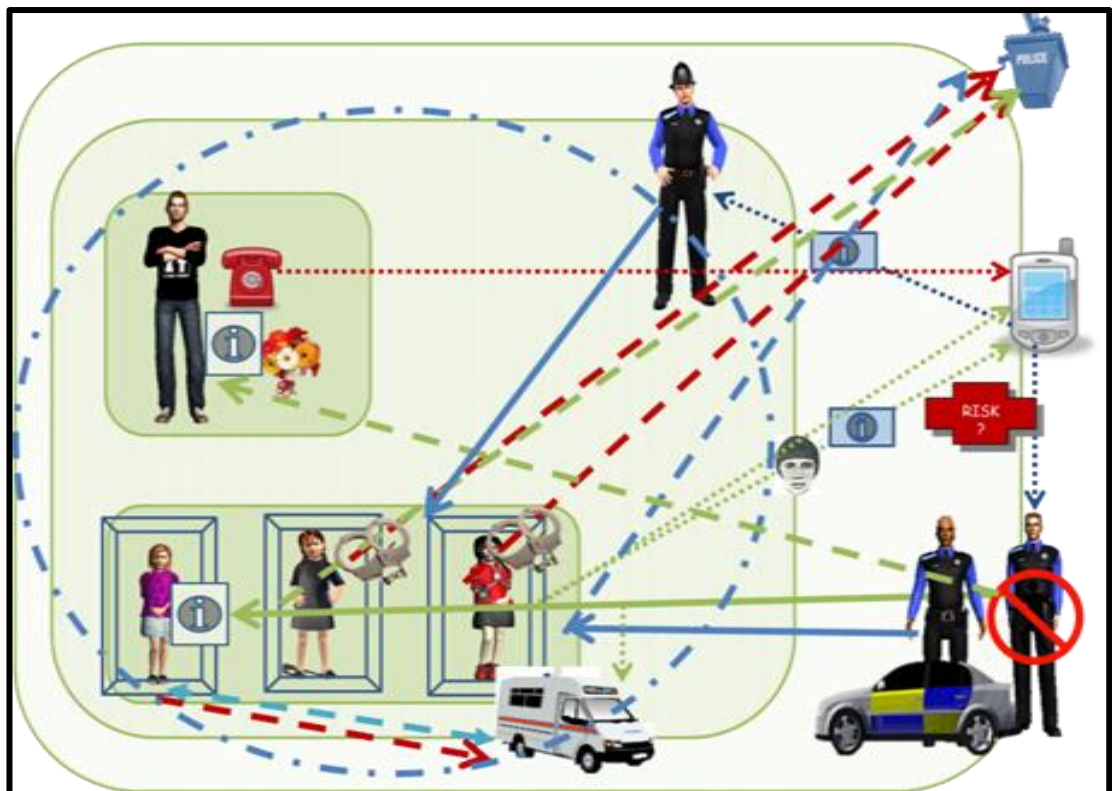
Sergeants



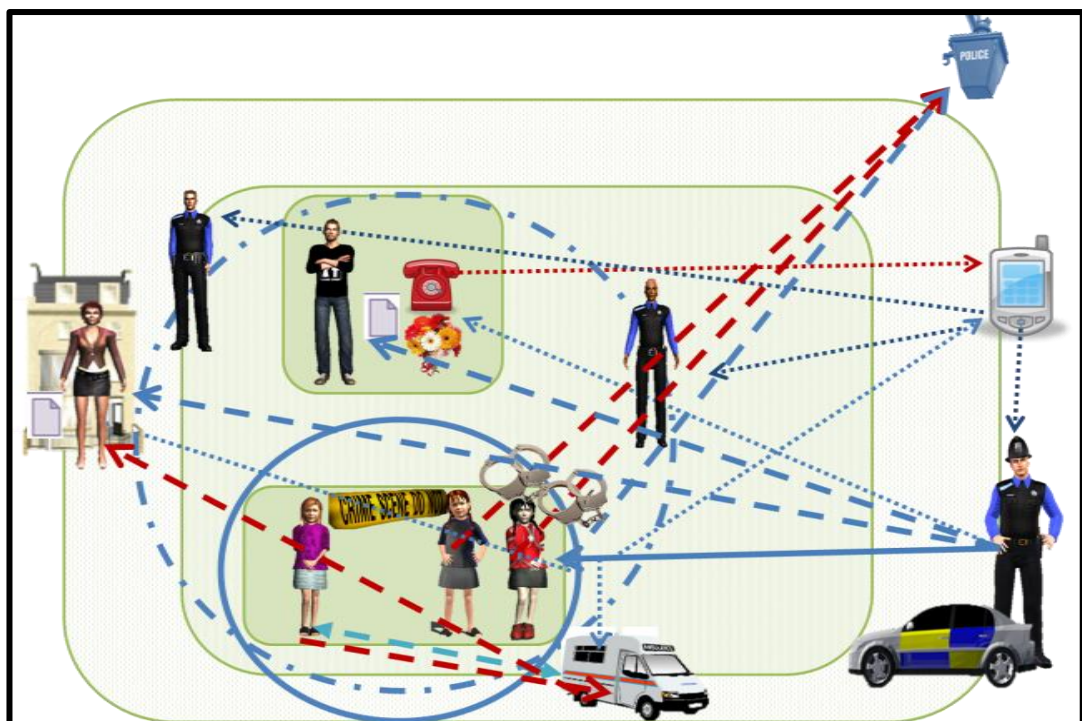
Public



PCSO
















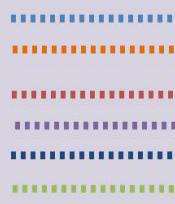

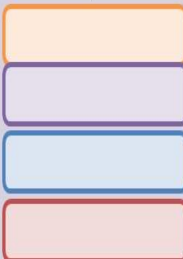









Police Constable

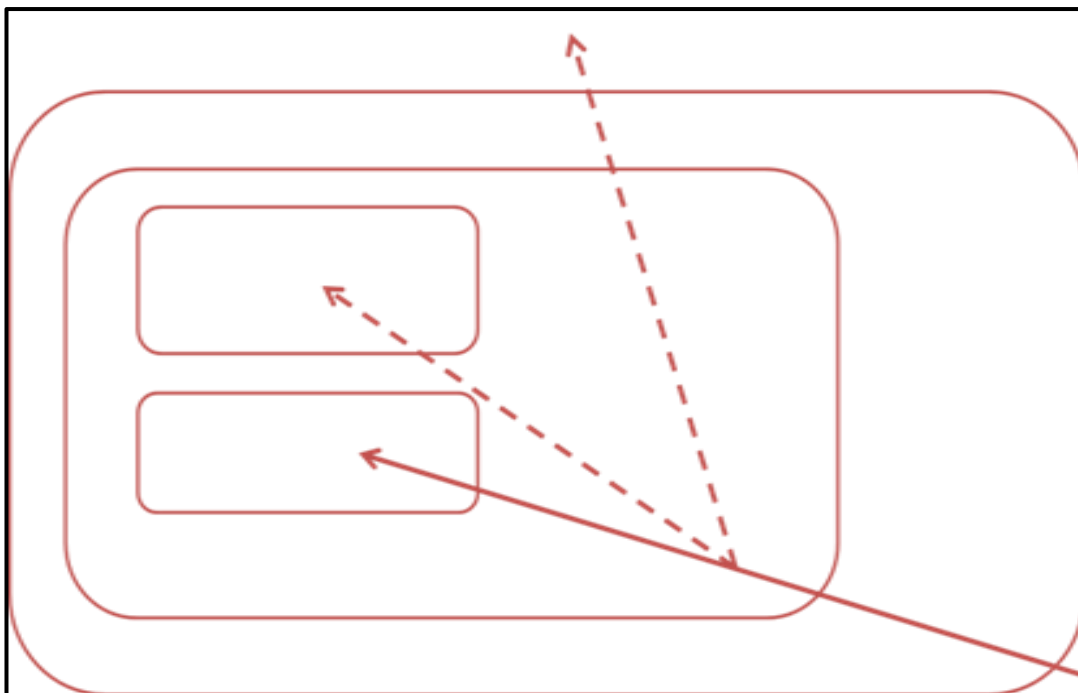


Scenario 6

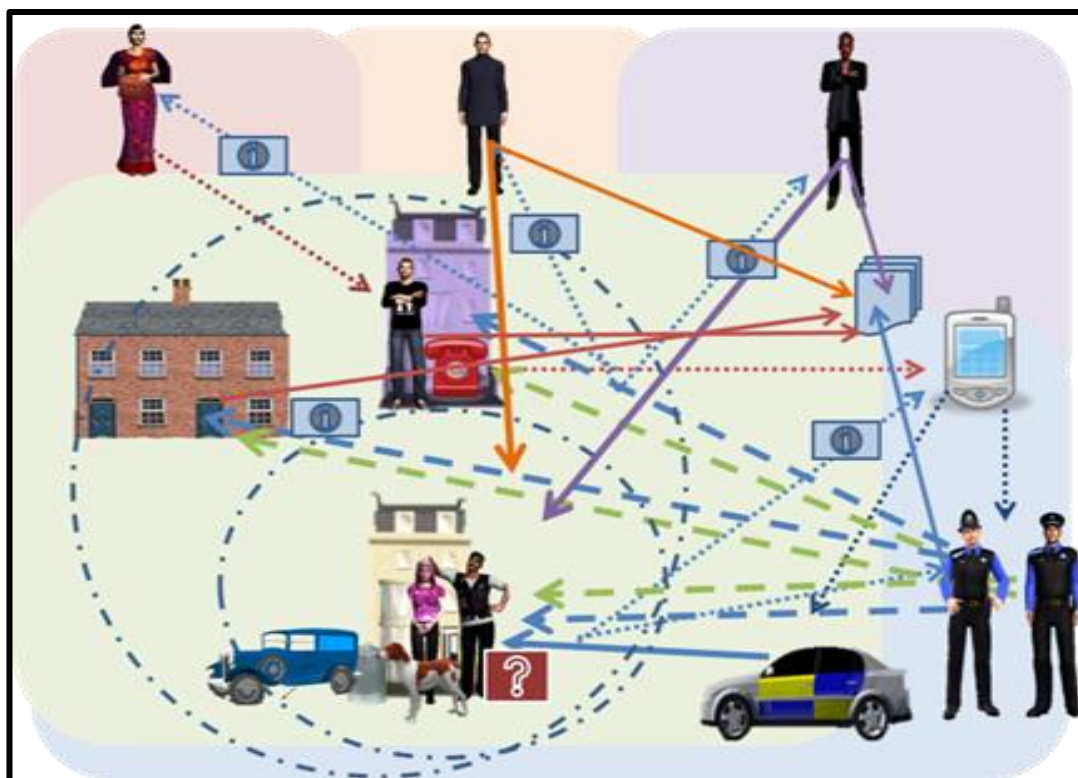
Key

<p>Sgt and Local Police Beat Team</p> 	<p>Caller</p> 	<p>Subjects of Complaint</p> 	<p>Telephone communication</p> 	<p>Local Community</p> 
<p>GP/Medical</p> 	<p>Landlord</p> 	<p>Local Authority/ EH Trading Standards</p> 	<p>ASB Team</p> 	<p>Dog Warden</p> 
<p>Undetermined offences</p> 	<p>Rapid Response</p> 	<p>Control FHQ</p> 	<p>Information about Offences</p> 	<p>Evidence Collated and Further Action -ASBO's eviction etc</p> 
<p>Communication</p> 	<p>Action</p> 	<p>Cultural or Procedural Impact</p> 	<p>Log of events/Evidence</p> 	<p>Mediation</p> 
<p>Statements</p> 	<p>Reassurance</p> 	<p>The 'Process of Law'</p> 	<p>Not Police Responsibility</p> 	<p>Remove 'Problem'</p> 

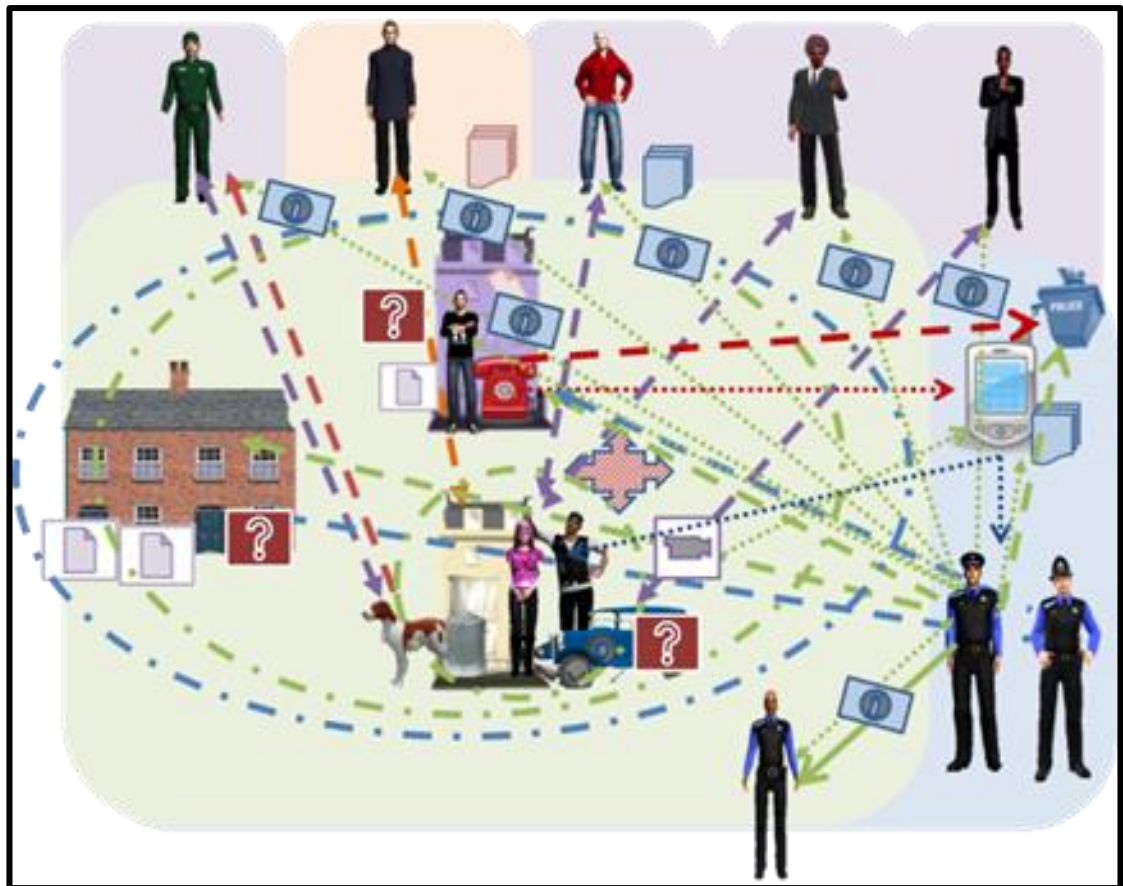
National Occupational Standards Template



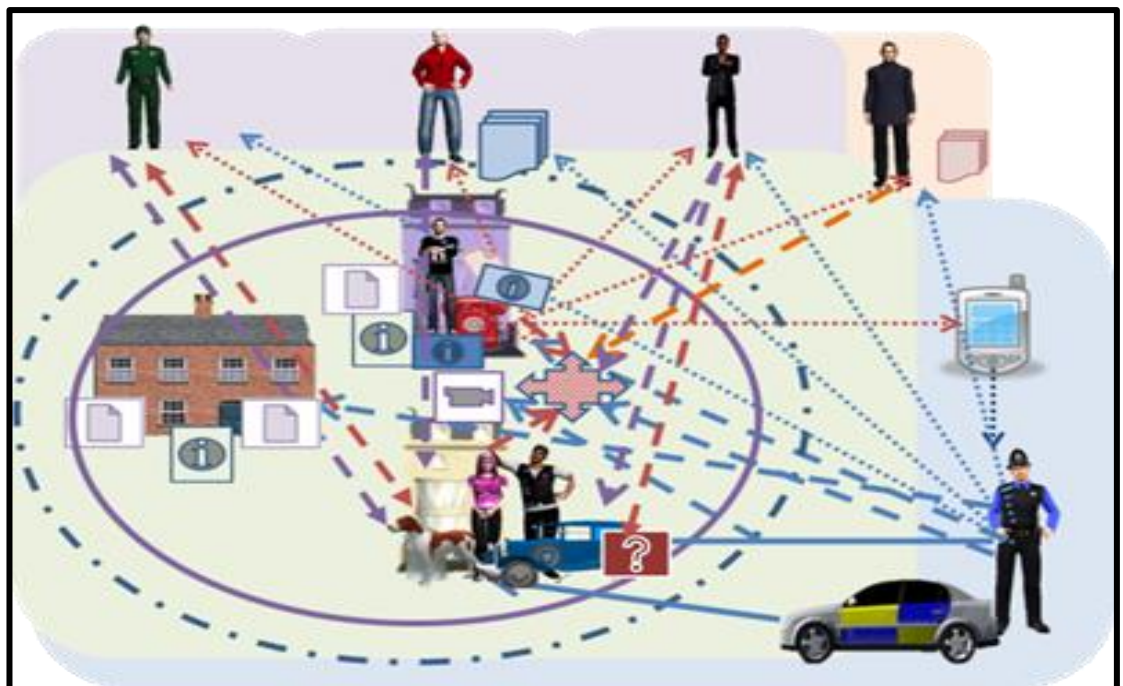
Manager



PCSO







Police Constable



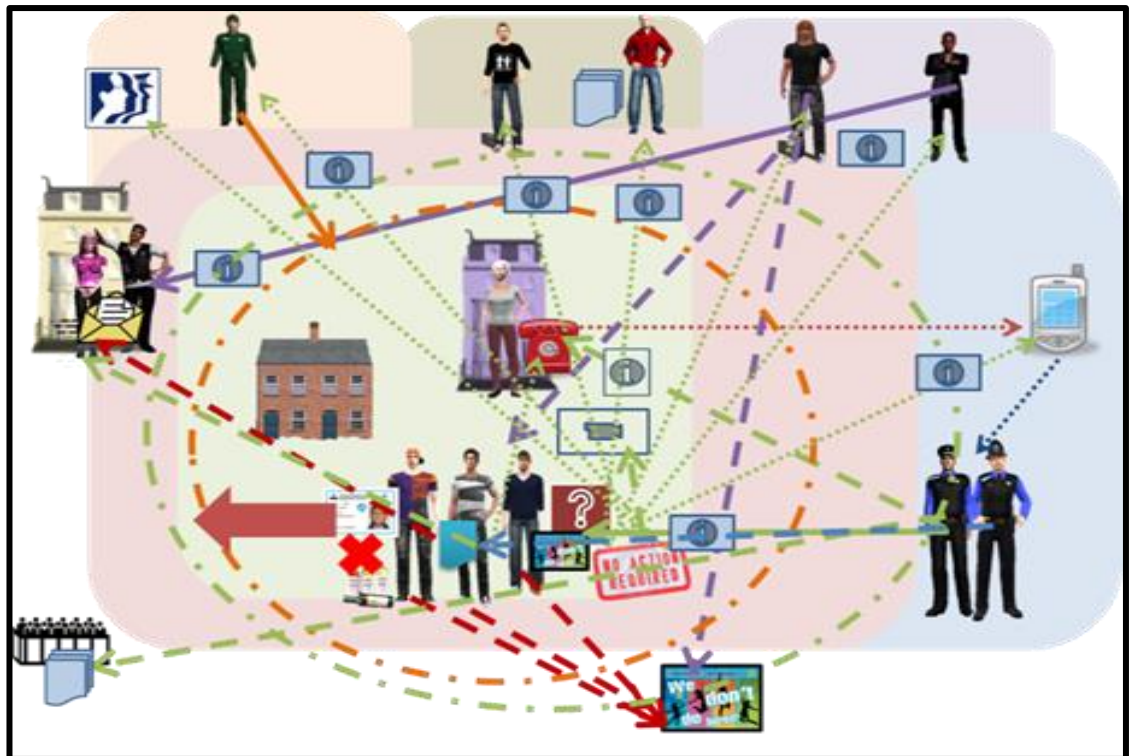
Scenario 7

Key

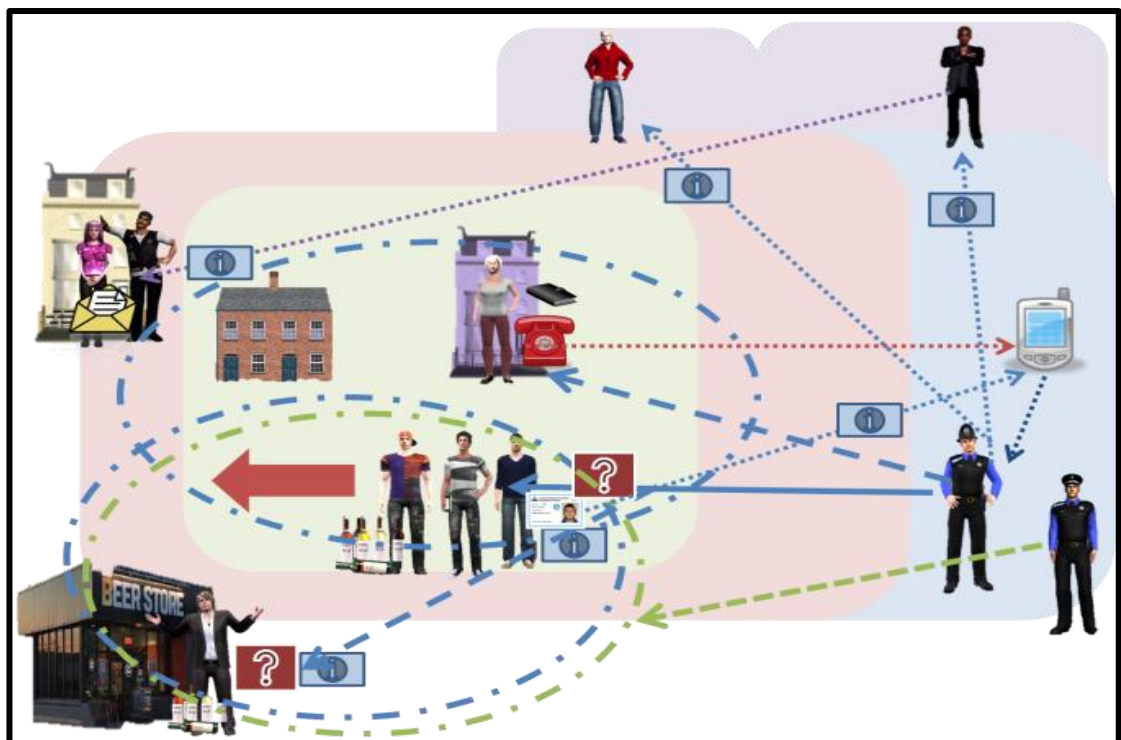
Local Police Beat Team 	Caller 	Subjects of Complaint 	Local Community 	Seller of Beverage 
Action 	Control FHQ 	Telephone communication 	Undetermined offences 	Reassurance 
Communication 	Health/Social Worker ASB Officer 	Confiscation of substance if unlawfully held and consumed 	Parents 	Council Officer Youth Worker 
Notification of Incident  Check age/identity 	Parks / Environmental Health Police response 	Case file  Information about offence 	No Action Necessary  Dispersal Notice 	Information about Youth Activities and Youth Activities 
Move group on to other location 	Diary of events for evidence 	CCTV 	Prosecution 	Community Safety Partnerships 

The diagram illustrates the concept of a 'strongly connected component' (SCC) in a directed graph. It shows a large rounded rectangle containing two smaller rounded rectangles, which in turn contain two even smaller rounded rectangles. Arrows indicate directed edges between these components, showing a cycle of dependencies.

PCSO



Police Constables



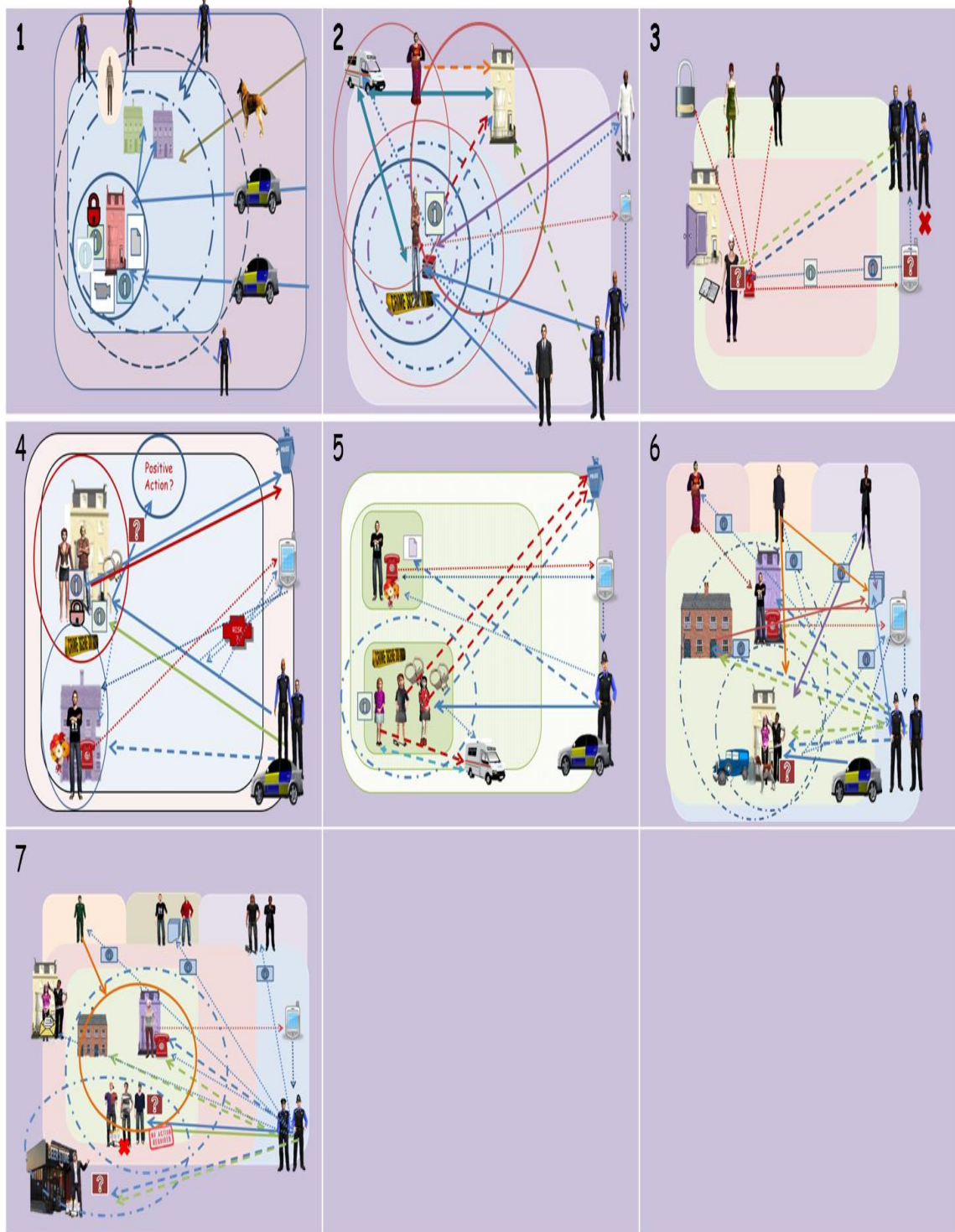
Cross Scenario Maps of Subject Responses

The following section provides examples of maps which represent the responses of the subject research groups when compared across the scenarios.

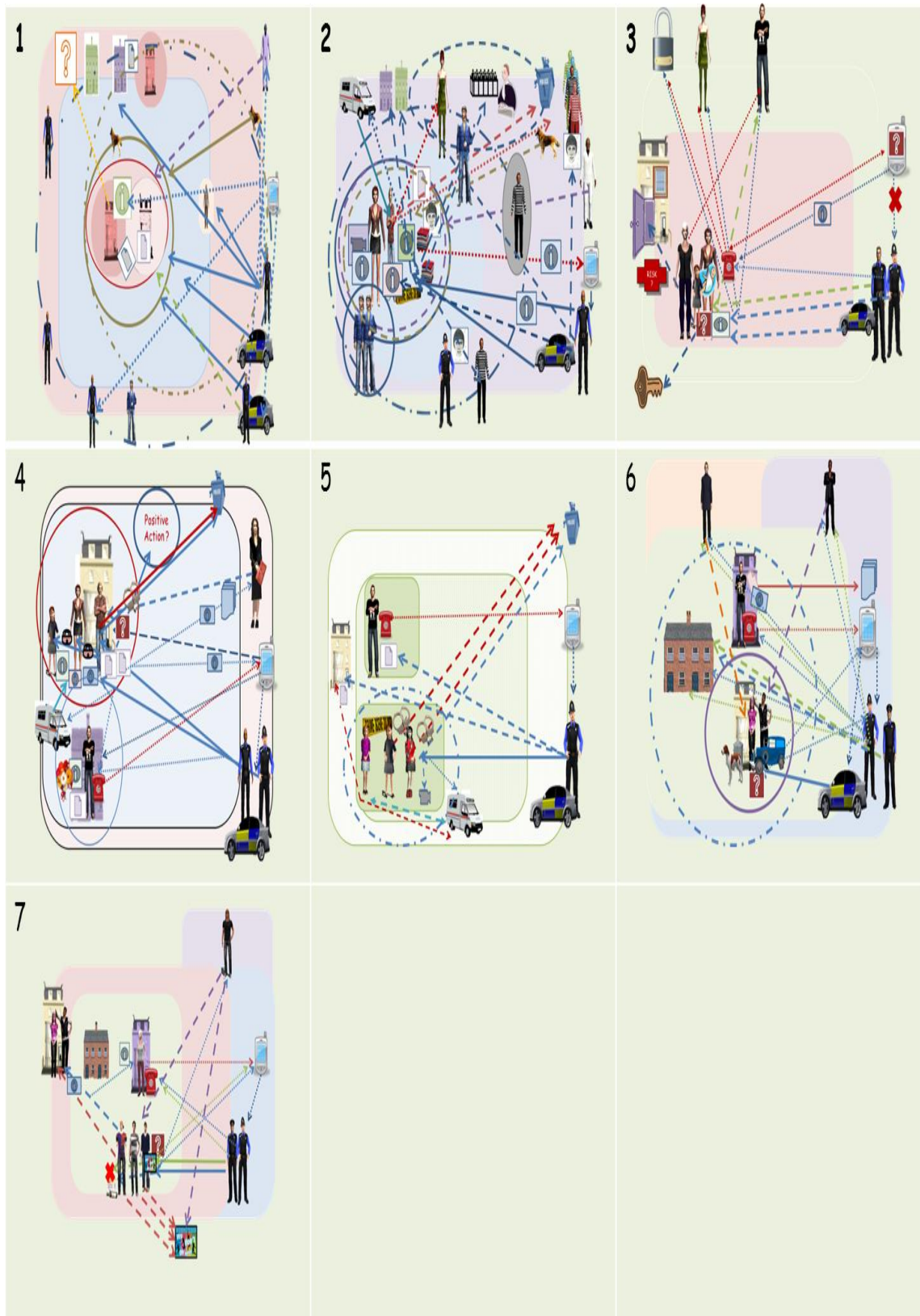
For example: Managers responses to scenarios 1,2,3,4,5,6,7

NB: The Scenarios are identified by number in each of the larger plots of the inter scenario maps

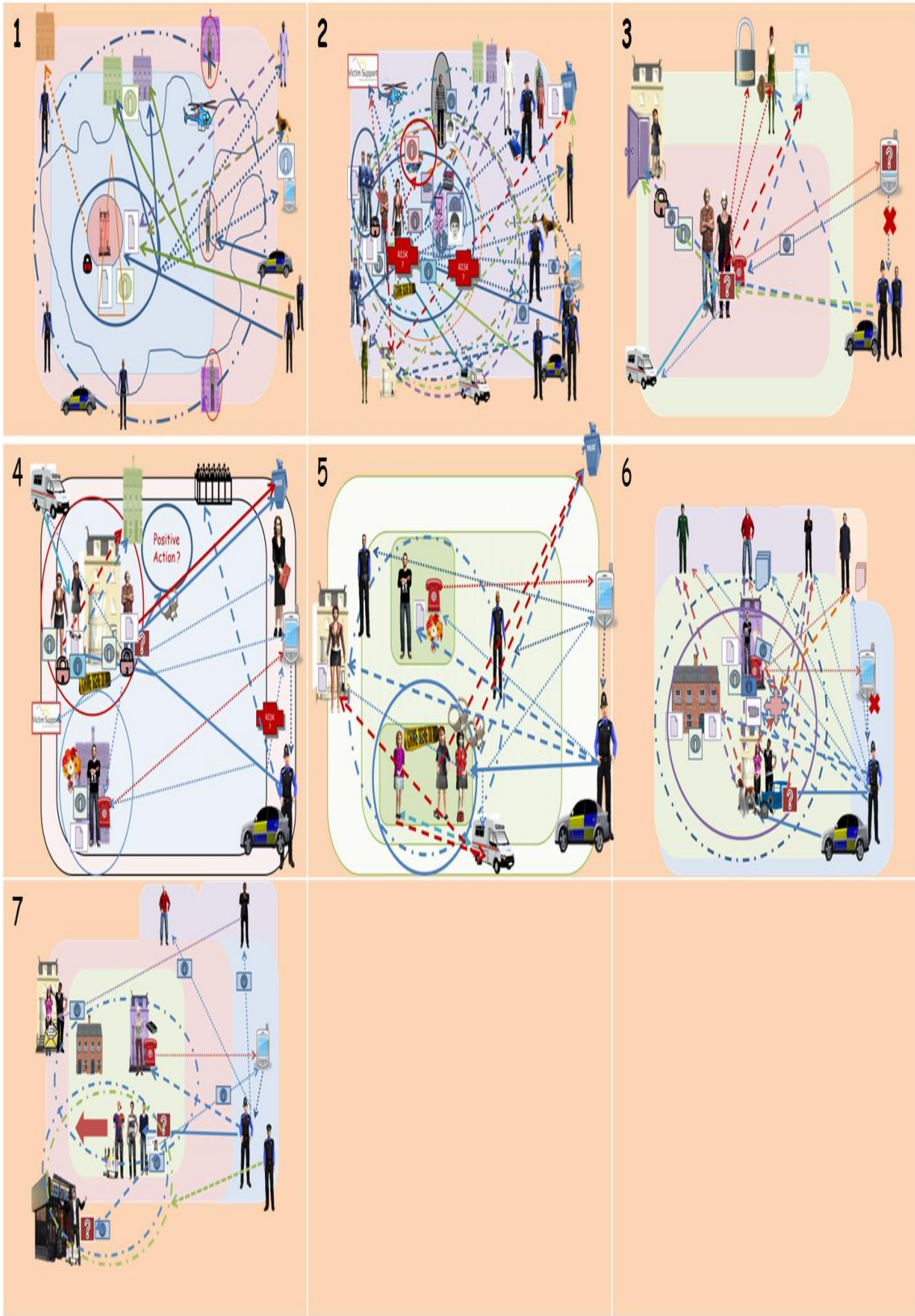
Police Managers



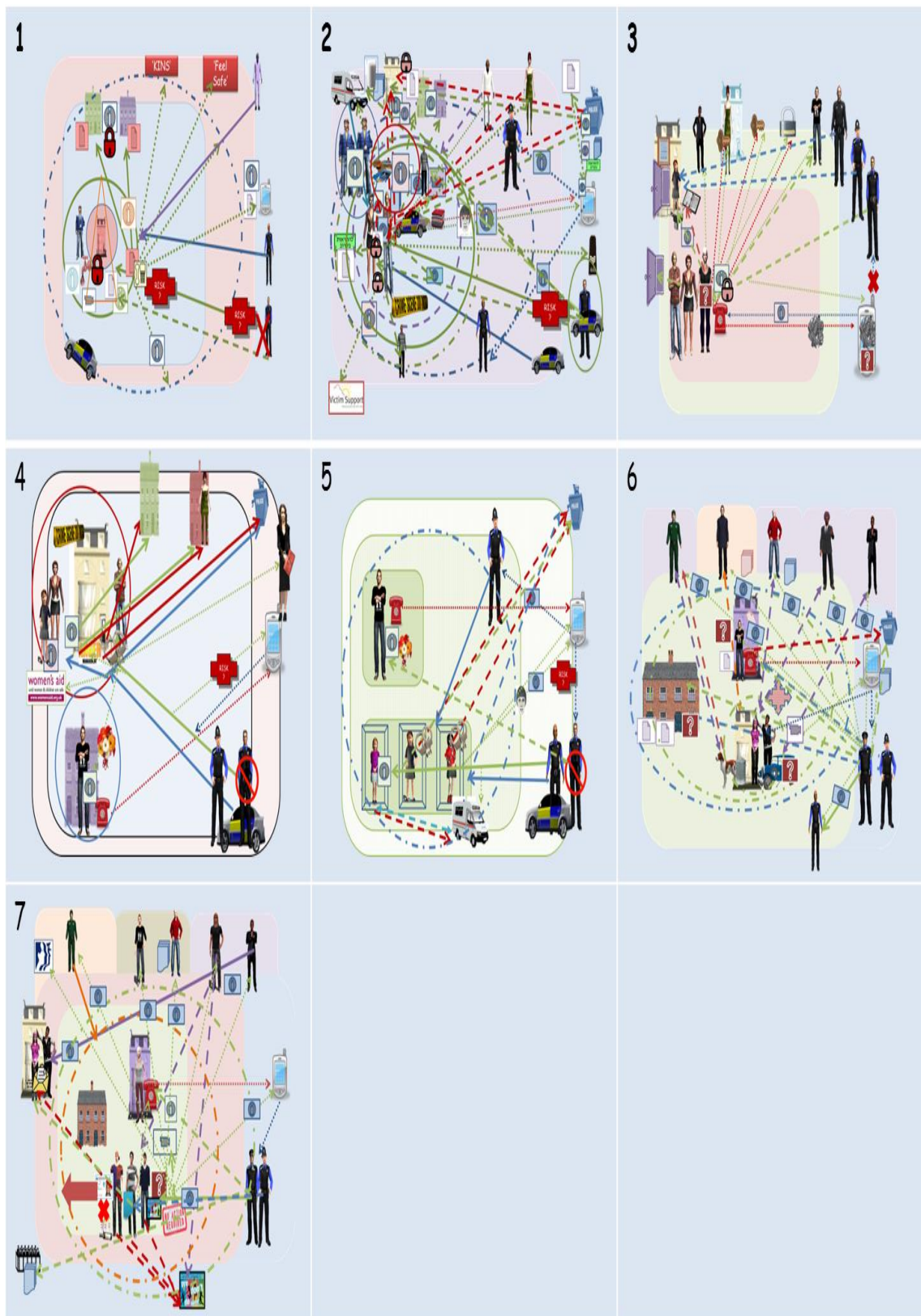
Police Sergeants



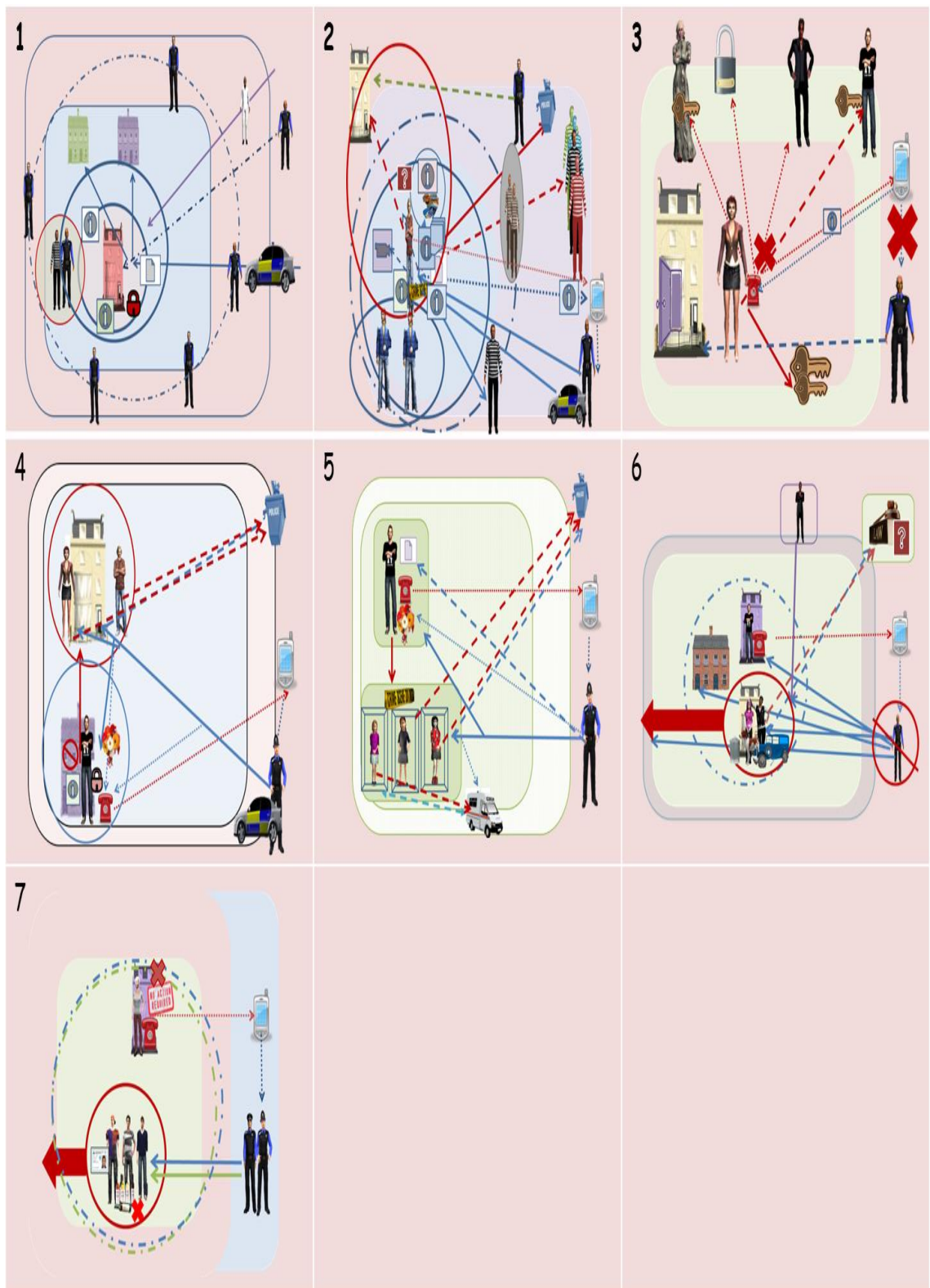
Police Constables



Police Community Support Officers



The Public



Final Note

In addition to the formal submission of this thesis there are associated interactive electronic materials available which provide a more detailed explanation of some of the methodological concepts within this work.

These can be submitted on request.